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CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN.

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Catholic Church of California,

FROM THE TIME CHRISTIANITY WAS INTRODUCED INTO THE COUNTRY

IN THE 17TH CENTURY, DOWN TO THE PRESENT DATE, IN

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Conversion of Upper California by the Franciscans. Flourishing state of the country under their rule.—Subsequent ruin of the Missions by the Mexican Government.—The discovery of gold.—Progress of the Church since then.—Present condition of religion.—Prospects for the future.

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but that is a trifling
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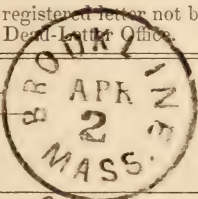
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Pastor

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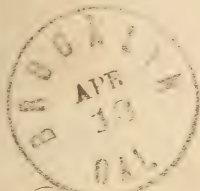
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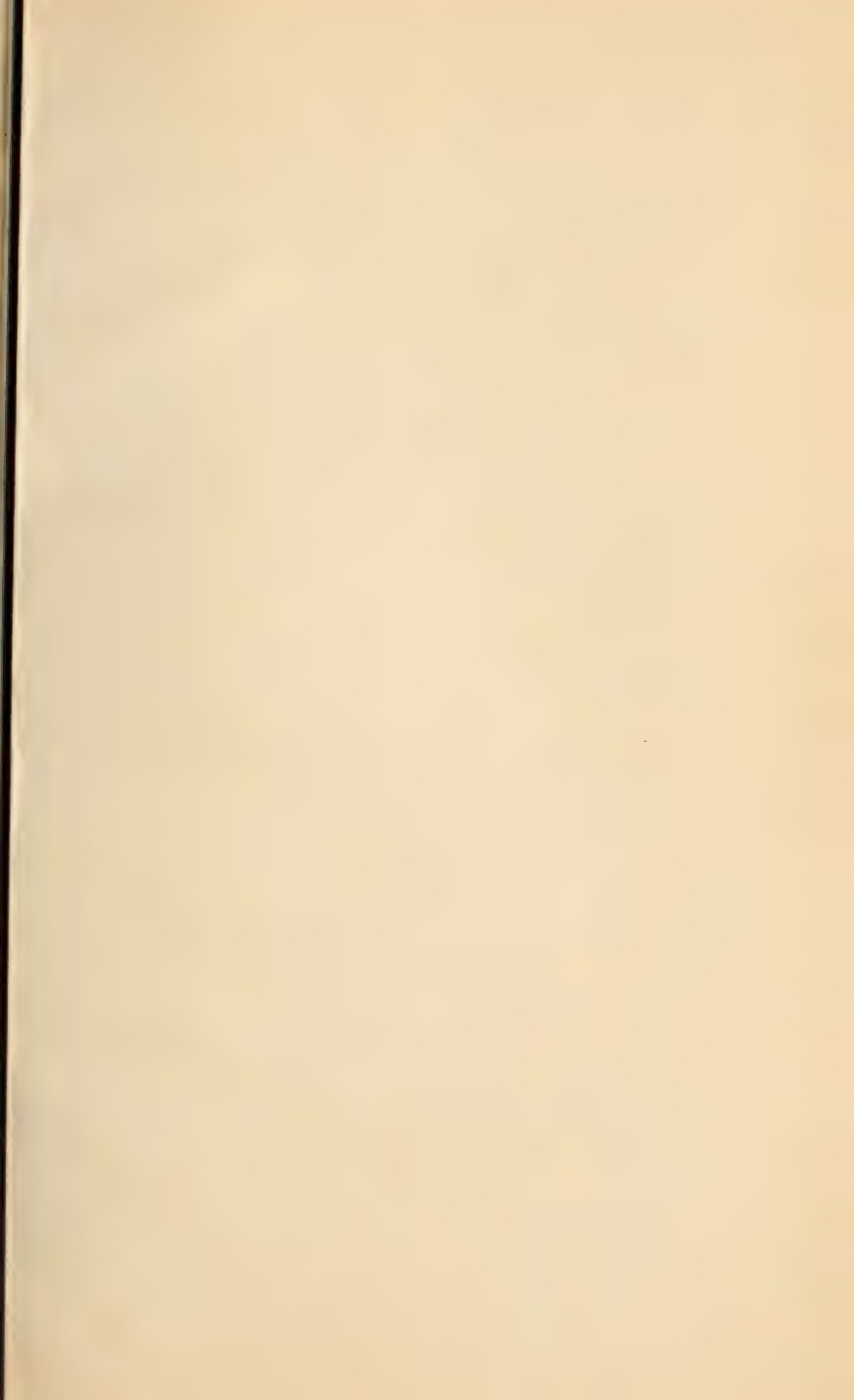
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Rev & Dear Fr. Finotti.

Your favor was received only a few days ago on my return from Sacramento. You can subscribe without scruple to the "History of the Catholic Church of California" by Fr. Gleason; for it is not in opposition to our Society of which Fr. Gleason himself is an active member. We will even try to have this work published under our auspices.

I thank you very much for the deep interest you take in the success of our historical ^{Society}. We have already drawn the act of its incorporation, and I hope that in a very short time we shall be able to

publish its laws, by laws L. We have
enlisted about fifty persons or more
in this undertaking. There are some
very good and learned men among
them.

Fr. Mengarini is informed of the existence
of his grammar published by Shea. I think
he has a copy of it. He wishes to be
kindly remembered to you, and so does Fr.
Accolti who is recovering from a
serious illness which brought him
to the very gates of eternity.

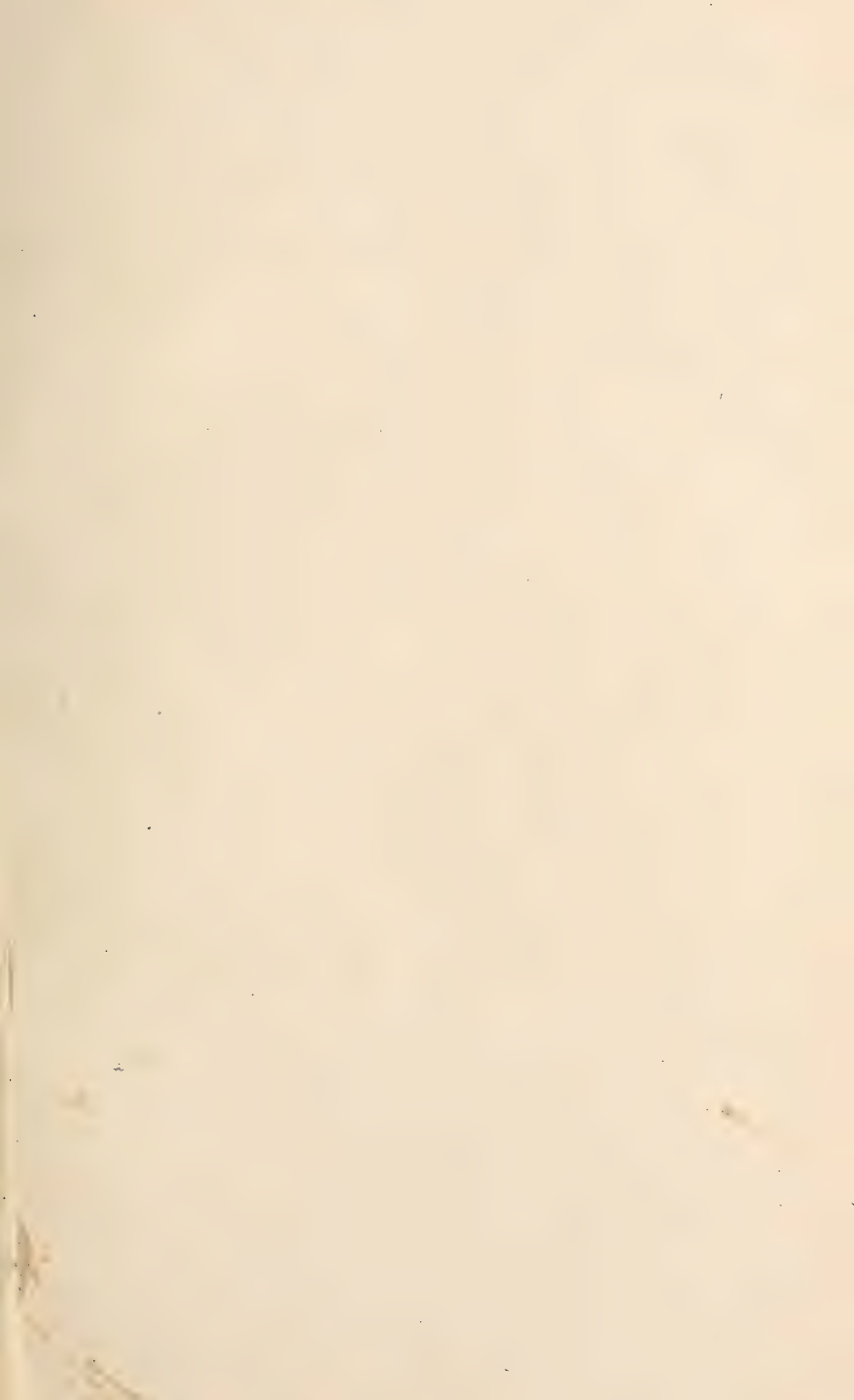
Pray for me, and believe me in haste

Your Servant in X^o.

A. Varzi, S.J.

P.S. Many many thanks for the
copies of the Pilot, and for the kind
notice of the "Orest". It is hard to keep
it flying, for the finances are low; but
still I hope we will make it go.

A. V. S.J.





Father John Sabra Tierra, S.J.
Apostle of Lower California.

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HISTORY
OF THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN
CALIFORNIA.

BY W. GLEESON, M.A.,

PROFESSOR, ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

IN TWO VOLUMES. ILLUSTRATED.

VOL. I.

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TO THE
FOREIGN MISSIONARY COLLEGE,
OF
ALL-HALLOWS, DRUMCONDRA,
DUBLIN, IRELAND,

THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY
THE AUTHOR.

St. Mary's College, San Francisco, Cal.
October, 1871.

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PREFACE.

THE title of this work may appear to some unwarranted by the character of the book. The ecclesiastical annals of Upper and Lower California, it may be alleged, are not sufficiently rich in historical details to entitle a treatise on the state of religion in the country to be styled a history. "The Catholic Church in California," or "The Early Missions," might be deemed a more appropriate name. It is true the greater part of the work treats only of the primitive missions established by the Jesuits and Franciscans. But, inasmuch as the Church on this coast has long since ceased to be a missionary body, in the sense of being governed by Vicars Apostolic, having for several years obtained an honorable place in the American hierarchy, it has been considered that the record of its career would be more appropriately expressed under the title of History than of Missions. 31

The considerable time, too, nearly two hundred years, since the faith was introduced into the country, is an additional reason why the claim to the name should not be denied.

The sources whence the historical matter has been drawn, will be found entire at the end of the second volume. They are not as numerous and complete as might be desired, yet, such as they are, they have been carefully considered, and nothing has been left unexamined which it was thought could aid in the execution of the work.

The writings on which we have mainly relied, are—
“The Natural and Civil History of Lower California,”
by Father Miguel Venegas: Boscana’s “Historical
Account of the Indians of Upper California;” Duflot de
Mofras’ “Exploration of Oregon;” Palou “Life of
Junipero Serra;” Forbes’ “Lower California;” and
Dwinelle’s “Colonial History.”

For the chapter on Christian Traditions, we have
consulted Sahagun’s “History of Mexico,” Torquemada,
Clavigero, Veytia, and others. The first, who was a
Franciscan, wrote at the period of the conquest, and is
considered a most reliable author. His work is at pres-
ent extremely rare, there not being probably more than
one copy of it in the entire country. Clavigero’s “His-
tory of Mexico” is a large two-volume quarto work. It
has been translated into English, and published in Lon-
don, by Mr. Charles Cullen. Torquemada and Veytia
have not been translated, but the passages quoted from
them we have translated into English, for the conveni-
ence of our readers.

In support of the presence of the Irish on the At-
lantic coast prior to the eleventh century, we have taken
several passages from the “*Antiquitates Americanæ*,”
a voluminous work in folio, published for the first time
in 1837, under the direction of the Royal Society of
Northern Antiquarians. It is of the highest authority
on the subject on which it treats, namely, the presence
of the Northmen and Irish in America at an early
date. Like Sahagun’s “History of Mexico,” there is,
I believe, only one copy of it in all California—that
preserved in the State Library at Sacramento. It is in
three languages: Icelandic, Danish, and Latin; the two
latter being only translations of the former. The text,
which is made up of geographical notices, and extracts
from the voyages of Icelanders to America, is taken

from the Icelandic "manuscript histories preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, of which there is a large number, the most celebrated being the "Codex Flateyensis," marked F. This celebrated parchment derives its name from the island of Flateya, off the coast of Iceland, where it was long preserved. It eventually fell into the hands of Byrnjulf, Bishop of Skalholt, by whom it was presented to Frederick III. of Denmark. It contains a record of the lives of several kings, and was written by two ecclesiastics, Fathers John and Magnus, in the year 1387. There are eighteen other parchment manuscripts in the Copenhagen Library, written before the time of Columbus, wherein mention is made of America, under the names of Helluland, Markland, Vinland, and Great Ireland.

The arrangement of the "Antiquitates" is in double columns, containing Icelandic and Danish texts, beneath which is the Latin translation. In the same work are some Latin fragments from the history of the church, by Adam of Bremen, who lived for some time at the Court of Denmark, and wrote in the 11th century. He is thus spoken of by Rafn; "Adamus Bremensis fuit canonicus et ædituus Bremis. Fama de virtutibus et doctrina rejis Danorum Suenonis Astrididæ eum in Daniam excivit. Hæc profectio, ipsius rejis relationes, et tabularium Hamburgense, nec non nonnulli scriptores antiquiores materiam ei præbuerunt historiæ ecclesiasticæ quatuor libris Latinè conscribendæ, in quibus explicat Christianæ religionis in Germania boreali et Septentrione propagationem a tempore Caroli Magni ad Henricum Quartum; addiditque ad Calcem libri quarti descriptionem de situ Daniæ et reliquarum, quæ trans Daniam sunt regionum."

The part of our volume treating on the ancient American ruins we have prepared after a careful examination

of the most eminent and reliable writers on the subject. Of these, the more notable are the works of the Smithsonian Institute, the "American Antiquities," by Bradford, the "Archeologia Americana" and the "Cités et Ruins Americaines," by Mons. Charney. The first, which are very voluminous, embody the opinions of the most learned American Antiquarians, but, like others who have treated the subject, they only deal with it in its general bearings, contenting themselves with having established the fact that America was once in the enjoyment of a high degree of civilization. Beyond this the present writer has undertaken to conduct the reader, and to show when and whence the people came, who were the authors of this enlightenment. The conclusions arrived at, it is to be hoped, will meet with the approval of all impartial readers.

It is here proper to remark that our work has no official recognition. Such has never been solicited. It goes forth on its own merits: should it meet with general approval we shall be glad, but if not, the failure, under the circumstances, will not be a cause of embarrassment to his Grace and his clergy.

We cannot take leave of these prefatory remarks without returning our thanks to those, through whose kindness we have had access to the writings necessary for our purpose. We feel especially indebted to Mr. H. H. Bancroft for the use of his excellent library, the best by far in California for works on the ancient history of Mexico and the Pacific Coast. We are also indebted to the kindness of the Librarians of the Mercantile, Mechanics', Odd Fellows' and Pioneer Libraries, and to the Librarian of the State Library at Sacramento.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.—ARRANGEMENT AND OBJECT OF THE WORK.

The history of the Catholic Church in California dates from the latter half of the seventeenth century. From that time down to the present, I purpose to write an account of the state of religion in the country. The absence of an impartial, comprehensive work, embracing the past and present condition of the Church, is my reason for undertaking this task.

Though largely devoid of those important and leading events, which, in older and more populous parts of the Catholic world, constitute the principal chapters of history, the record of the Church's career on this coast is yet not without interest to the Catholic mind. The history of missionary enterprise in every country, and under every circumstance, possesses an attraction for many, much greater when it happens to be connected with results of a most gratifying kind, as in the case of which we are going to treat.

The history of the Catholic Church in California commends itself, too, to the general reader, for another and, perhaps, a more appreciable reason. I allude to the connection between the civil and religious history of the country. For three hund-

red years and more—from the landing of Cortes in 1536 till the annexation of Upper California by the American Republic in 1846, the civil and religious relations differed so little that they found expression on the same page. It is only since the loss of one half of the country to Mexico that the two branches of history have formed separate fields for inquiry, and that the civil and religious historians, severing a long-formed friendship, have entered on different routes.

As the conversion of the aborigines from paganism and barbarism to Christianity and civilization has been the result of the devoted and heroic exertions of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries, I have resolved, in the arrangement of my subject, to treat of the order of events in two volumes. In the first, I will speak of the labors and triumphs of the Jesuit Fathers in Lower California, from the time of their landing in 1683 to the date of their expulsion, in common with their brethren of Paraguay, in 1768, by order of Charles III.

The second volume will contain, besides an account of the conversion of Upper or Alta California by the disciples of St. Francis, a description of the once happy and flourishing state of the missions, under the paternal rule of the Fathers, their subsequent decline and ultimate ruin under Mexican auspices; to which will be added an impartial description of the state of religion during

the American period, since the appointment of the Right Rev. Dr. Alemany as second bishop of Monterey.

My principal object in undertaking this work is the desire of placing upon record, and handing down to posterity, a faithful and unbiased relation of the labors, trials and triumphs of the pioneer missionary Fathers, not forgetting what is due to those who have succeeded them in the ministry.

At the risk of laying myself open to the charge of embodying something foreign to my purpose, yet with the view of its being acceptable to many, I have resolved upon giving a limited description of the country and its resources, as well as an abbreviated account of the different voyages made to its shores, during a long series of years, by the Spaniards, the British and the French.

To the manners, customs and religion of the aborigines, I propose devoting several pages, that the reader may be acquainted with the character of those with whom the pioneer missionaries had to come into contact. And, connected herewith, it will be read, I trust, not without interest, how certain apparently Christian traditions and observances were found to be held and maintained by the natives. The explanation to be offered in solution to this will lead to the interesting inquiry, as to whether the Christian religion had ever been preached in America previous to the arrival of the Spaniards. In support of the affirmative proofs

will be offered to the acceptance of the reader in favor of the arrival of St. Thomas, the Apostle, in the country; as well as in support of the presence of the Irish on the eastern or Atlantic coast prior to the landing of Columbus.

Out of this will arise the investigation of another and, if possible, more difficult problem—the origin of those numerous, ancient remains of towns, tombs and fortifications, scattered everywhere through the continent, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific. To this the reader's attention will be specially invited, though not forming any direct part of the work; for, entirely apart from religious inquiry, it must ever be regarded as a matter of more than ordinary importance, to determine on satisfactory grounds the origin and identity of that remarkable people—the authors of that enlightenment and civilization of which it is now freely acknowledged this country was in possession centuries before its discovery in 1492.¹

But, however agreeable and interesting an inquiry of this nature may prove to the general reader, the main feature of California church history will naturally be the conversion and civilization of the Indians, and that at a time when some of the principal nations of Europe were being violently torn from the centre of Catholic unity; so that, viewing the matter in connection herewith,

(1) See works by the Smithsonian Institute. *American Antiquities*.
—Bradford.

the thought may not unreasonably occur to the mind of the reader that the Almighty had determined upon compensating his church for the losses sustained in the old world by the accessions made in the new. Neither will it be forgotten, that the nation made use of for the accomplishment of this noble and beneficent purpose, was the then powerful Catholic Kingdom of Spain, under whose banners the children of Ignatius, of Domenic, and Francis, went forth to the ends of the earth, rivaling in their thirst for the conversion of nations, the daring and ambition of their reckless secular brethren in their pursuit after temporal honors and temporal gain.

Undaunted by the most formidable dangers to be apprehended from long and perilous voyages, from close and constant communication with rude and barbarous races, or from bad and insalubrious climates, the history of that period presents us with the agreeable picture of the Spanish Religious hastening to every part of the globe, wherever the arms of his country had opened him a passage. Hence the account of the noble and heroic exertions of the missionary priests in the valley of the Mississippi, in the wilds of Peru, on the burning plains of the Indies, and amid the hills and valleys of California. No fleet or expedition of any importance sailed in those days under the auspices of Catholic Spain, unattended by the missionary priest, the bearer and exponent at the same time

of that symbol of faith—the cross of the Redeemer, under whose shadow the countries were to be gained to the church and the crown. And whenever the reduction of a race happened to prove too weighty a measure for the civil authority, it had only to be entrusted, as in the case of the Californias, to the zeal and devotion of the clerical body, in order to ensure its final submission. When, however, a different policy came to be adopted, the result was unhappily alike fatal to the interests of the crown and the well-being of religion. For it is not a matter unknown to the student of history, that from the moment the monarchs of Spain offered violence to the ministers of the gospel, the star of their country's temporal ascendancy began to decline, their political relations were altered, the seeds of disorder and rebellion were sown in their provinces, and territory after territory began to renounce their authority; until the last of those numerous and magnificent American dependencies, which had made them at one time the pride and envy of the most powerful nations of the world, was violently torn from their grasp.

On the other hand, as long as the responsible ministers of government showed themselves capable of appreciating the labors of the missionary, by aiding him in the prosecution of his noble and charitable enterprise, the power of Spain rested on a solid and unshaken foundation. The im-

possibility of governing with entire satisfaction and advantage to the crown provinces, at such a considerable distance as the Spanish-American possessions, is put forward by some as a plea for the coldness and neglect with which the Court at Madrid treated the Paraguayan and Californian missionaries. But, however plausible and satisfactory such an argument may appear to the apologists of royalty, it will never satisfactorily account for the severity and injustice exercised in the expulsion of the Fathers from the shores of the Pacific.

It is true that the royal intentions were oftentimes thwarted, and the most positive instructions artfully evaded, by designing and unscrupulous ministers; for not unfrequently did it happen that when orders were sent from the Court of Madrid to the Mexican government in favor of the Fathers, these royal commands were either entirely neglected, or executed only after the most injurious delay. This was remarkably so in the year 1698, as also in the years 1703 and 1707, as we shall see in the body of the work. Indirectly, it was a gain rather than a loss; for it showed more emphatically than anything else could have done, how the conversion of the country was the work of the Fathers, and not the result of the favors or patronage of the State.

What contributed not a little to the missionaries' success was their chivalrous and devoted ex-

ertions in behalf of the people in times of public calamity, for, regardless of their own personal comfort and safety, they never withheld the kind offices of charity from any; never failed to exhibit in their lives the example of the gospel Samaritan, by attending on all, no matter how loathsome, infectious or dangerous the diseases with which they happened to be afflicted. Thus, by rare examples of virtue, by a devotion and zeal unparalleled in the annals of any other part of the Church, the pioneer Jesuit Fathers in Lower California continued to add constantly to the number of the faithful, until, at the moment of their departure from the peninsula, the united result of their missionary labors proved to be one of the most remarkable triumphs of gospel success achieved for religion in modern times. It was the conversion of the entire country, from Cape St. Lucas to the mouth of the Colorado.

What the sons of Ignatius did for Lower California, the children of Francis accomplished for Upper. Everywhere the preaching of the gospel was attended with the most favorable results. From San Diego to San Francisco, missionary establishments arose along the coast, where thousands of the people were carefully provided with everything requisite for their temporal wants, instructed in the great truths of religion, and the arts of civilized life.

But, viewing the result of the missionaries' la-

bors merely on the ground of temporal advantages done to the natives, there is much to admire and extol in their work, while, as a successful undertaking, accomplished with such limited means, it contrasts most advantageously with the previous efforts of Government in a similar direction. For one hundred and fifty years immediately succeeding the discovery of the peninsula, the subjugation and settlement of the country, though an object of the highest ambition to the Spanish authorities, remained entirely unattained. Even the impossibility of ever accomplishing the same by secular means was freely acknowledged by all.

No sooner, however, was it entrusted to the care of the Religious than the difficulties experienced for a century and a half immediately disappear. Neither the character of the inhabitants, nor the apparent infertility of the land, is any longer an impediment against making settlements on the coast. The soil, though yielding only the meagerest sustenance to its wretched inhabitants, now, at the approach of the Fathers, opens its bosom, and pours forth its rich treasures of nature. At the voice of the same venerable men, fifty thousand of the savages descend from the mountains, abandon their barbarous state, accept the religion of Christ, and engage in the works and arts of civilized life. To paganism succeeds Christianity; to barbarism, civilization; to wild, neglected, uncultivated regions, blooming, fertile val-

leys teeming with abundant crops and extensive herds—all the result of the labors and devoted exertions of men whose only means of enforcing authority were the mild and persuasive words of the gospel, and whose only worldly inheritance consisted of a cassock, a girdle and a breviary.

In 1834, the number of live stock belonging to the missions in Upper California alone, amounted to four hundred and twenty-four thousand head of horned cattle; sixty-two thousand head of horse, and three hundred and twenty-one thousand of other kinds; while for the same year the cereal returns are given at one hundred and twenty-two thousand five hundred *fanegas*.¹

Of the articles of export, which consisted of hides, tallow, oil, wood, wool, tobacco and cotton, the first was the principal. Two hundred thousand hides annually left the shores for the Sandwich, Peruvian and American markets. The annual gross value of all the commodities leaving the country may be estimated at close on half a million of Spanish piastres.² Yet, in the presence of these incontrovertible figures, there are those who withhold from the Fathers that praise and admiration so justly entitled them by their zealous and devoted exertions in behalf of the temporal interests of the people; while others, more ungenerous and unreasonable still, would fain have

(1) A *fanega* is equal to a bushel.

(2) See *Exploration de l'Oregon*, by Mons. Duflot de Mofras; vol. 1, p. 480.

the world regard them in a light entirely unworthy of their sacred profession. Of the former, the Scotch author of the *History of America*, may be evidenced as an instance; nor are we to be astonished at this, for inasmuch as Robertson never visited the country, and was not over favorable, as a writer, to Catholic interests, little else could be expected at his hands.¹ Neither should we be surprised at not meeting with commendatory expressions in the writings of men who paid only casual visits to the shores, as Rogers, Shelvocke and Beechey; but that men residing in the country, and supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with its history, should condemn the Religious, and censure them in the coarsest of language, betrays either an unpardonable ignorance of the true history of the land, or a mind utterly prejudiced against every thing Catholic.²

The charges laid to the account of the Fathers are mainly to the effect that they were not sufficiently progressive; that they kept their neophyte converts in a state of perpetual bondage, and failed to elevate them to a high and desirable degree of civilization. "The Spanish population and the Fathers," say the writers of the *Annals of San Francisco*, "could not or would not, as truly they did not, as we may afterwards see, do any thing to promote the happiness of the human race

(1) *Robertson's History of America*: Book VII. p. 74.

(2) See Forbes' *History of California—Annals of San Francisco*.

in the country. Men feed the ox and the sheep for their milk and fleece, the hog for his flesh, the ass for the strength of his back, and all for their increase; so did the Fathers feed their Indian converts, and find abundant profit in their labor and personal services, whom they left, as they perhaps found, if they did not transform them into moral beasts, just as tame, dull and silly, dirty, diseased and stupidly obstinate as the other brutes named.”¹

Before indicting so grave and serious a charge against the most devoted and remarkable missionaries of modern times, it is to be regretted that the writers of the *Annals* did not consider whether it was any advantage to the natives to have been instructed in a knowledge of the Christian religion; to have been reclaimed from their wandering, precarious existence, instructed in the elementary principles of a civilized life, and provided with all the requirements demanded for their temporal wants. It is also to be regretted, that they did not consider whether it is possible, even under the most favorable circumstances, to speedily transform the savage into a civilized man. The history of the world, and the experience of all ages, would have told them exactly the contrary. In no part of the globe, and under no circumstances whatever, has it ever been known that the wild and uncivilized races have been elevated to

(1) *Annals San Francisco*: p. 52.

a parallel with civilized Christian communities in less than a few generations.

The history of the whole of America is an apposite instance of this. The still rude and uncivilized habits of the yet wandering tribes of this coast, of Oregon, and the great western prairies, is an evidence of how little even a Republican government can effect in exalting a people.

The Floridan war, which lasted from 1835 to 1842, cost the United States Government of America forty million dollars, and twenty thousand of the flower of the army; and yet, we are told, that until lately the chief of the Seminoles was the terror of the frontier.¹ Under the circumstances, the Fathers did all that could be reasonably expected at their hands, and more, I may safely affirm, than any other body of men, outside the Catholic Church, has ever accomplished with similar means. The material they had to work on was of the poorest and most unfavorable kind.

According to the testimony of the most impartial and best informed writers, the physical and mental conditions of the Californians was the lowest and weakest of all the American races. "It is not for Europeans," writes the author of the *Natural and Civil History of California*, "who have never been out of their own country, to conceive an adequate idea of this people. For even in the least frequented corners of the globe there is not a na-

(1) See *Catholic Church in the United States*; p. 16.

tion so stupid, of such contracted ideas, and so weak, both in body and mind, as the unhappy Californians." "They pass whole days," says Humboldt, "stretched out on their bellies on the sand when it is heated by the reverberation of the solar rays." And Father Boscana, who spent a quarter of a century in the country, gives them even a more unfavorable character: "The Indians of California may be compared to a species of monkey; for in naught do they express interest except in imitating the action of others, and particularly in copying the ways of the *razon* or white men, whom they respect as beings much superior to themselves; but, in doing so, they are careful to select vice in preference to virtue. This is the result, undoubtedly, of their corrupt and natural disposition." ¹

The condition of the Indians after their conversion, when instructed by the Religious, contrasts most favorably with this.

Captain Benjamin Morrell, of the United States service, who visited the country in 1832, speaks thus of the Indians of the mission of St. Anthony of Padua, near Monterey: "The Indians are very industrious in their labors, and obedient to their teachers and directors, to whom they look up as to a father and protector, and who in return discharge their duty toward these poor Indians with

(1) *Historical Account of the Indians of Upper California*; by Father Boscana, p. 335.

a great deal of feeling and humanity. They are generally well clothed and fed, have houses of their own, and are made as comfortable as they wish to be. The greatest care is taken of all who are afflicted with any disease, and every attention is paid to their wants." And again: "No person of unprejudiced mind could witness the labors of these Catholic missionaries, and contemplate the happy results of their philanthropic exertions, without confessing that they are unwearied in well-doing. The Indians are generally a very industrious, ingenious and cleanly people." ¹ Mr. Russell Bartlett, speaking of the state of the country after the destruction of the missions by the Mexican government, writes in the same commendatory manner: "Humanity cannot refrain from wishing that the dilapidated Mission of San Gabriel should be renovated, and its broken walls be rebuilt, its roofless houses be re-covered, and its deserted walls be again filled with its ancient *industrious, happy and contented population*." A little before, the same writer had said: "Five thousand Indians were at one time collected and attached to the mission. They are represented to have been sober and industrious, well clothed and fed." An American, who passed several years in the country, bears equally satisfactory testimony of their virtues; speaking of the Mission of San José, he says: "And perhaps there are few places in the world

(1) *A Narrative of Four Voyages in the Pacific*: chap. VI., p. 208.

where, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants, can be found *more chastity*, industrious habits and correct deportment than among the women of this place." ¹

The Abbé Domenic's valuable work on the Great Deserts of America also contains some notable passages respecting the condition of the Indians before and after their conversion: "The Indians of California consist of poor tribes, living wretchedly on the product of fishing, of hunting, and of wild fruits. Under the intelligent and paternal administration of the missionaries they had become happy, docile and industrious, even though their intelligence was much inferior to that of the other Indians of North America. They tilled the fields, cultivated the vine, and had very fine orchards. Previous to the arrival of the Jesuits, they were in complete ignorance of the art of agriculture, and even of the pastoral life. Stupidity seemed to be their distinctive character." ²

Such is my answer to those whose works are dishonored by the censures and condemnations they contain of the pioneer Fathers to this coast. In the body of the work the reader will be able to appreciate more fully the true character of the Religious, on reading in detail an account of their labors.

(1) *Life in California, during a Residence of Several Years in that Territory by an American*: p. 73.

(2) *The Deserts of North America*: by Abbé Domenic, vol. 1, p. 239.

Apart entirely from the foregoing consideration respecting the benefits conferred on the natives, the signal advantages indirectly derived by the Government of this country from the presence of the Religious on the coast, should be more than sufficient to shield them from the ungenerous remarks of American writers. It is to the presence of the pioneer Catholic missionaries in California that is due, in all probability, indirectly the fact that this part of the coast forms to-day a portion of the American Republic.

After the failure of Admiral Otando's expedition in 1683, the government of Spain acknowledged its inability to conquer the country, or to make settlements in it. A declaration to this effect was reluctantly made by the agents of the crown, and a determination arrived at of never again embarking on a like speculation. By thus acknowledging their inability to accomplish their purpose, the Spanish authorities may be said to have virtually renounced in favor of others, desirous of making a similar experiment, whatever claim or title they had to the country. That this was sure to be so regarded by others, appears clear from the fact, that in 1768, the same year that the Jesuit Fathers landed in Lower California, a Russian expedition was despatched to the Pacific, with the view of promoting the mercantile and territorial interests of that nation in these parts. The presence of the Religious, however, under the flag

of old Spain, prevented for a time the contemplated purpose. But Russia did not entirely abandon her project, for, in 1807, we find the Chamberlain of his Majesty the Emperor, arriving at the bay of San Francisco, preparatory to forming a settlement on the coast, which was afterward accomplished, at the port of Bodega in 1812.

Meantime, the English, under Rogers, Dampier, Shelvocke and Anson, were frequenting the country, and inclined to regard it as a British possession, in consequence of Drake having taken possession of it in the name of his sovereign; while, on the other hand, the French, in the persons of La Perouse and De Mofras were also endeavoring to establish a claim. It is, therefore, by no means improbable, on the contrary, it is strongly to be credited, that had not the interests of Spain been so largely represented by the devoted Religious, California would have fallen a prey, long before its annexation by the American Republic, to one or other of the nations referred to above.

The circumstances under which the Religious entered on the field of their labors, deserve to be briefly explained, in order to guard against unfavorable impressions. Unlike most missionary work, where the heralds of the Gospel go forth unattended by any, without scrip or staff, trusting for all things to the providence and protection of Him who ruleth the universe and provideth for the requirements of all, the first missionaries to

California were attended by a few faithful companions, and under the protection of a military escort. That this was derogatory to the true spirit of the Gospel, and unworthy of the pioneer Fathers, seems to have been regarded by some, but it should be remembered that the object contemplated by Government was twofold in its character: The conversion of the natives to the Catholic faith, and their subjection to the dominion of Spain, was the double purpose on which the Fathers had embarked. On this condition, and this alone, was it that Spain had placed the interests of the country in their hands. Even admitting that the latter did not enter into their purpose, it is difficult to see how their having taken precautionary measures to save themselves against the violence of the savages, could be laid as a charge at their doors.

Doubtless it is far more impressive and romantic to read of the missionary falling under the tomahawk of the savages, as the first Jesuit Fathers in Canada, than to learn of others of their brethren landing on the shores of an equally barbarous race under the protection of a few armed companions. But, whether the course adopted by the latter may not be more in accordance with reason, and more beneficial to religion and humanity, is a question which is left to the judgment of the reader to determine. Had not the first missionaries to California been attended by some of their Spanish or Mexican

friends, there is every ground to suppose, judging from the future conduct of the natives, that they would have fallen victims to their charitable endeavors at the hands of the savages, and that thus the country would have remained sunk in its barbarism and paganism for generations.

There was also another and more politic motive urging this course. The eastern, or Philippine, trade had to be protected; for this purpose it was necessary that garrisons should be formed along the coast, to prevent the annual Mexican galleon from falling into the hands of the British then infesting the shores. Nor was the hope of preventing the country from falling a prey to some of the nations referred to above, entirely foreign to his Majesty's purpose.

CHAPTER II.

CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING.—GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE COUNTRY.—EXPEDITIONS UNDERTAKEN FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE IMAGINARY STRAIT BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC.—TREATY OF TORDESILLAS.—MAGELLAN SAILS TO THE PHILIPPINES BY A WESTERLY COURSE.—CHARLES V. ORDERS CORTES TO SEEK FOR THE STRAIT.—CORTES SENDS CHRISTOPHER DE OLID.—CORTES GOES TO SPAIN.—GRIJALVA'S EXPEDITION.—DISCOVERY OF CALIFORNIA.

THE first quarter of the present century was the most brilliant period of the Catholic missions of California. It was during this time, after the labors of the missionaries had resulted in the conversion of the greater part of the people, that fifty thousand of the inhabitants, strangers to the care, turmoil and ambition of the outer world, dwelt in those peaceful abodes erected everywhere through the country under the fostering care of the Religious. There, day by day, as the duties of religion summoned them to the worship of God, their simple but grateful accents ascended to Heaven in humble acknowledgment of the manifold blessings bestowed on them, both in a spiritual and temporal sense. Instead of rude, illiterate savages, destitute of every idea of religion, and of every social comfort and enjoyment, they now saw themselves in the possession of religion, instructed in the great scheme of Redemption, abounding in bread, comfortably lodged and decently clad.

Even to the most censorious and exacting, the change must appear advantageous and appreciable. To the wild, uncultivated, wandering races moving vaguely from place to place, unconscious alike of the God who created them, as well as the end for which they were destined, succeed, under the care of the Religious, the numerous civilized, Christian congregations, leading most regular and orderly lives, and discharging devoutly the duties that religion demanded at their hands. So happy and contented, indeed, was their condition, before the baneful influence of a ruinous Mexican policy was felt in the land, that one is in every sense justified in regarding their state as amongst the most favored of any neophyte Christian community of the world. But this was not to continue. In the inscrutable designs of divine Providence a climax was reached: the happiest and best days of the Californian missions had come and were gone.

In 1822, Mexico separated from the parent country and proclaimed its independence. This was a most dangerous and ill-boding occurrence for the missions. Men who, while subject to authority, used every means in their power to avoid the execution of orders favorable to the Fathers, now that they were free, were not likely to take measures for promoting their interests. Such, in fact, proved to be the case.

Two years after the Republic was proclaimed, the Christians of California were removed from

under the control of the Fathers: an order arrived at that date for the manumission of all whose characters were unimpeachable. They were to receive certain portions of land and to be entirely independent of the Religious. At the same time the annual salary paid to the Fathers, and derivable from the interest of the Pious Fund, was withheld and appropriated by government; while still later on, the whole of the fund donated originally by the pious benefactors for the exclusive use of religion, was confiscated by Congress and expended for purposes of State.¹ To these, other equally intolerant measures rapidly succeeded. In 1833, the Mexican government passed a decree for the removal of all the Religious,² and the distribution of the lands among the Indians and settlers. The natural consequence of such a radical measure was the ruin and destruction of all that the missionaries had effected since their entry into the country. The Indians, being unprepared for so sweeping a change, when left entirely to themselves, uncontrolled and unsupported by their religious protectors, quickly fell back into their original indolence, and squandered away all that was given them by government, as children are wont to trifle with valuables which accidentally happen to fall into their hands. Of this, even the most unfavor-

(1) The Pious Fund was the aggregate sum of the donations bestowed by the faithful on the Fathers for the use of the missions. Its history will be given in the Second Vol.

(2) They were to be replaced by a secular clergy.

able writers bear unequivocal testimony: "The simple Indians were quite incapable of standing alone, and rapidly gambled away or otherwise squandered the little property assigned to them. Beggary or plunder was only left to them to subsist upon."¹

Such was the unhappy and ruinous consequence of the interference of government with the work of the missionaries. The Indians, when left to themselves, refused, in almost every instance, to labor. They either had not sufficient intelligence to foresee the evils they were bringing upon themselves and their families by abstaining from work, or they had not sufficient determination of purpose to conquer their natural indolence by engaging in those duties they cheerfully undertook at the bidding of the Fathers. Attributable to one cause or the other, the result was equally the same—the temporal and spiritual ruin of the people. Everywhere through the country the lands remained almost wholly untilled, the houses fell into ruins, the herds were destroyed, and the Indians themselves scattered, diminished and demoralized. Indeed, so remarkable and striking was the change effected under these circumstances, that, only we have the most undoubted authority for its reality, we would feel reluctant in accepting it as true.

In the eight years which passed between 1834 and 1842, the live stock belonging to the missions

(1) *Annals of San Francisco*, p. 75.

decreased from eight hundred and eight thousand to sixty-two thousand. The diminution in the agricultural returns was equally significant, the returns having fallen from seventy thousand to four thousand hectoliters, while, as regarded the Indians themselves, their numbers fell from thirty thousand six hundred and fifty to four thousand five hundred.¹

Although the action of the Mexican Government resulted in the almost entire ruin of the missions, Catholicity, withal, did not lose its hold upon the country. Another and more brilliant era was about to open upon the Church. In the ineffable designs of Divine Providence, the native Christian congregations were to be succeeded by Europeans. Upon the ruins of the old missions was to arise a new and more beautiful Church, fair and noble in all its proportions, combining within its fold men of almost every clime and every race, Celt and Saxon, Frank and Teuton, those from the banks of the Tiber, as well as those from the Guadalquiver and the Mississippi, and thus second only in numbers and affluence to some of the oldest and most prominent centres of Catholic unity within the limits of the Republic. This is the modern Church of California. How it came to be formed, how its numbers increased, its churches arose, its religious houses were founded, its institutions established,

(1) Vide *Exploration du Territoire de L'Oregon, des Californies et de la Mer Vermeille*; vol. 1, p. 321.

its bishoprics formed and its clergy increased, the reader shall learn in the latter half of the work.

In the older and less perfect geographies, the boundaries assigned to California were considerably greater than its present dimensions. Up almost to modern times its geographical limits were but vaguely defined. John Bleau, in his voluminous work published at Amsterdam, in 1622, comprehended in California all the countries west of New Spain and New Galicia, even to the Anian Straits. "*California communiter dicitur quidquid terrarum Novæ Hispaniæ atque Novæ Galiciæ ad occidentem objicitur, quæ sane latissime patent et ad extremos Americæ meridionalis terminos et fretum quod vulgo Anian vocant, pertinent.*" The limits thus assigned to the country by Bleau, and others of that period, were never generally accepted. They however gave what, in their day, was supposed to be the country's dimensions.

By California in its present limits, comprising the Upper and Lower countries of that name, is understood that line or tract of coast land on the western shores of the North American continent between the twenty-second and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and the one hundred and ninth and one hundred and twenty-fourth degrees of west longitude. Its extreme length, from Cape St. Lucas in the south to Cape Mendocino in the north, is about five hundred leagues, or fifteen hundred miles. It varies in breadth from thirty to

three hundred miles and more. The superficial area of this belt of coast land is for Lower California two hundred thousand square miles; and for Upper one hundred and eighty thousand nine hundred and eighty-two, making a total of three hundred and eighty-eight thousand nine hundred and eighty-two square miles for the entire country. Upper California extends about seven hundred and fifty miles northwest to Oregon, from the thirty-second to the forty-second parallel of latitude.

It is to the indomitable energy and liberal munificence of the conqueror of Mexico that we owe the discovery of the country, under the following circumstances. In 1522, after the conquest of Mexico, Fernando Cortes acquainted his royal master, Charles V., with his design of discovering the imaginary strait supposed to exist between the American continents. It is proper to observe, that after the discovery of America, at the close of the fifteenth century, by Christopher Columbus or Colon, an opinion was current in Europe that the Atlantic communicated with the Pacific by a strait in the vicinity of what is now known as the Isthmus of Panama. It was with the view of finding this passage, and thereby facilitating the voyage to the Indies, of which so much was then spoken, that the adventurous Spaniard entered upon his fourth and last voyage. The extraordinary accounts given of the riches of the East by

the Venetian and Florentine merchants, as well as the exaggerated description of travelers, whose works then for the first time began to attract public attention, inflamed the public mind with the desire of being able to traffic directly with those nations, and not as before, through Mahometan agency.

In 1499, Vasco de Gama returned from his voyage to the East by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. This, while it opened a new but difficult passage to the Indies, only increased the desire of finding a shorter and less perilous route. To satisfy the public desire then, as also to accommodate himself to the wish of the monarch, Admiral Columbus sailed from the Tagus for the fourth and last time in his life, in 1502. He had promised their Catholic Majesties on starting that nothing would be left unaccomplished to discover the passage. Faithful to his promise, he carefully examined the coast as far north as the Gulf of Honduras, without, it is unnecessary to say, having found the imaginary strait.

From this till 1523, several attempts were made to discover the passage. In 1514, the Portuguese discovered the Moluccas, which the Spaniards claimed as their own, in accordance with the treaty of Tordecillas, by which it had been agreed that all the countries to the distances of three hundred and seventy leagues east of the Azores should belong to the Portuguese crown, and all to

the west to the kingdom of Spain. This was the memorable treaty known as the "Partition of the Ocean." It was occasioned by the inconveniences arising from the immunities granted by different Popes to the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs. In 1454, Pope Nicholas V. granted, by a Bull of approval to Portugal, all the discoveries she had made, or might afterward make, on the African coast and to the east. On the other hand, Ferdinand and Isabella obtained a counter prerogative from Alexander VI., by which they were to enjoy and inherit all the discoveries made to the west.¹ As the limits in both cases were but vaguely defined, the pretensions of the monarchs eventually became a matter of dispute in the case of the Moluccas, and hence the treaty alluded to respecting the division of the ocean.

To obviate, as far as was practicable, the difficulty of the case, Magellan and Falero proposed to Cardinal Ximenes, to sail to the island by a western route, if aided by Government. From what motive it is not stated, but the proposal did not meet with approval at the hands of his Eminence. The matter remained in abeyance till after his death, when the offer was renewed to the monarch in person, and with greater success; for, in the year 1519, Magellan started on his voyage. After crossing the equator, he steered along the southern coast till he came to the strait to which he has

(1) See Bull and Explanation at end of chapter.

given his name. Through it he effected a passage, with considerable difficulty, into the southern ocean. Continuing his voyage, he arrived at the Ladrones, and subsequently at the Philippines, where he unfortunately perished, with some of his companions. The others continued the voyage till they came to the Moluccas, whence they returned to Spain, in 1522, by way of the Cape of Good Hope. This was the first complete voyage made around the globe, and was effected in the space of three years.

A new, though long and difficult, passage to the Indies being now discovered, and the position of the world better determined, the general desire was increased of finding a readier route; Charles V. was as deeply interested in the matter as any of his subjects. In 1523 he sent orders to Cortes to seek for the strait on both sides of the continent. Cortes was not then in a position to fully carry out the royal commands, and contented himself with sending Christopher de Olid, with Habuercas and Hortado, to take a survey of the coast on the eastern side. Meantime the general opinion regarding the existence of the strait was increased, in consequence of information received from the natives by Pedro Alvarado. Writing to Cortes from Mazatlan, he says: "They (the natives) also told me that at five days journey beyond a very large city, which is twenty days journey from hence, this land terminates; and this they posi-

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tively declare. If so, there is no question with me but this is the strait."

For the solution of the problem, it was necessary that an expedition should be formed for the careful survey of the western coast. To this end, Cortes caused to be carried across from Vera Cruz, on the Atlantic, to Zacatulla, on the Pacific, materials for the construction of four vessels, two caravals and two brigantines. He also despatched a number of artisans for the execution of the work. His plan, however, was frustrated for a time by an unhappy occurrence. After the arrival of the workmen and materials, the magazine accidentally took fire, when all was destroyed but the iron. To any but a man such as Cortes, this would have presented an insurmountable difficulty; but, ominous as the occurrence may have appeared, he did not permit it to interfere with his project, for he immediately gave orders for purchasing and forwarding similar material. His object in fitting out the expedition was not so much with the view of discovering the strait (as may be seen from the following extract of a letter to his Majesty), as of discovering new and unheard of dominions. Writing to the Emperor from Mexico, he says: "I place value on these ships beyond all expression, being certain that with them, if it please God, I shall be the instrument of your imperial Majesty being in these parts sovereign of more kingdoms and dominions than have been hitherto known in

our nation. May God please to prosper it in his good pleasure, that your Majesty may obtain such an unparalleled advantage; for I believe that when I have performed this, your Highness may be monarch of the whole world, whenever you please." ¹

In the following clause of the same letter, he expresses the hope of finding the strait, and the important advantages likely to result from it: "In the former clause, most potent Lord, I have specified to your Majesty the parts whither I have sent people, both by land and sea, with which, under the divine favor, I believe your Highness will be greatly pleased. And, as it is my continual care and employment to project every possible way of putting into execution my zeal for the service of your royal Majesty, seeing nothing further is remaining but the knowledge of the coast yet undiscovered between the river Panaco and Florida, surveyed by Captain Juan Ponce de Leon, and from thence to the northern coast of the said country of Florida, as far as the Baccaloas, *it being certain* that on that coast is the strait running into the south sea; and if it be found, according to the true draft which I have of that part of the sea near the archipelago, which by your Highness' orders Magellan discovered, I am of opinion it will issue very near it. And, if it please the Lord that the said strait join there, the voyage to the Spice

(1) Vide *Cartas de Cortes* : page 374.

Islands will be so convenient for these, your Majesty's dominions, that it will be two thirds shorter than the present course; and without any hazard in going or coming, for the voyage will be entirely among the states and countries belonging to your Highness; that, in any necessity, they may safely put in where most convenient, as in a country belonging to your Highness, whose flag they carry."

After pointing out to his Majesty the expenses necessary to be incurred, he continues: "Thus, I think of sending ships, which I have caused to be built, into the south sea, that, God willing, they may by the end of July, 1524, sail downward along the same coast, in quest of the same strait. For, if there be any such thing, it must appear either to those in the south sea or to those in the north; as those in the south are to keep the coast in sight till they find the said strait, or, that the land joins with that which was discovered by Magellan; and the other on the north, as I have said, till they find the land joins with the Baccolloas.

"Thus, on the one side or the other, this important question must be solved. I hereby inform your Majesty, that by the intelligence I have received of the countries on the upper coast of the south sea, the sending of those ships along it will be attended with great advantage to me, and no less to your Majesty. But, acquainted as I am with your Majesty's desire of knowing this strait,

and likewise of the great service the discovery of it would be to your royal crown, I have laid aside all other profits and advantages of which I have the most certain knowledge, in order to follow entirely this course. The Lord direct it according to his good pleasure, and may your Majesty obtain your desire, and likewise mine of serving you."

"Mexico, October 15th, 1524."

The zeal manifested by Cortes, in this letter to the Emperor, is thought to be due rather to a desire of regaining his fast-failing reputation and ascendancy than to a single-minded purpose of serving the crown. "He flattered himself," says the author of the political essay on New Spain, "that he would be able by the brilliancy of his achievements to silence the representations of his enemies."

When the vessels to which he alluded in his letter to the Emperor were finished, he received orders to send them in search of the "Trinity," one of Magellan's, which had been lost on the way to the Philippines. The expedition was in consequence retarded for a while. Meantime, Cortes returned to Spain, where he was highly honored by the Emperor, being made Marquis of Gaxacara, Captain General of New Spain, and the provinces and coast to the south. He also received from the crown, both for himself and his heirs, the twelfth part of whatever he conquered, but on the condition of providing the expedition himself.

The following year he returned to Mexico, and, according to agreement, fitted out at his private expense the vessels required for his purpose. These he despatched on a voyage of discovery, in charge of his relative, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, but, unfortunately, the expedition miscarried.¹ One ship's company mutinied against their commander, and the other, in which Hurtado himself had command, was lost. Cortes was still unshaken in his purpose. He had resolved to prosecute the inquiry to the end, even under the most unfavorable circumstances. With this view he ordered other vessels to be built immediately.

The new expedition was entrusted to Hernando Grijalva and Diego Beccera de Mendoza, Ortun Ximenes being pilot. They put to sea in 1534, and, although ordered not to part company, they were accidentally separated the first night, and never met again during the voyage. Grijalva, after sailing north some three hundred leagues, returned to New Spain, without further discovery than that of a barren island, supposed to be one of a group off the Californian coast.² Mendoza,

(1) Three Franciscans—Father Martin de la Coruña and two others accompanied this expedition. See *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*: vol. 5, p. 7.

(2) Humboldt says that Grijalva landed in California, but he does not cite any authority in support of his assertion. On the other hand, Miguel Venegas, the oldest and most reliable author, tells us, indirectly, that he did not; except, indeed, landing on an island off the coast can be regarded as such. "Grijalva, after sailing three hundred leagues, came to a desert island, which he called Santo Thome, and is believed to lie near the point of California." *Hist. Cal., Venegas*; vol. 1, p. 134.

the master of the other vessel fared even worse. Being of a haughty and tyrannical disposition, he so angered a part of the crew, that seizing the first opportunity, they fell upon him and murdered him, instigated, it is said, by the pilot. Ximenes thereupon became master of the vessel, and continued the voyage; but, going ashore in the vicinity of Santa Cruz Bay, was murdered, together with twenty of his companions, by the natives.¹ The vessel was taken back to Mexican waters by the survivors. Still resolved upon prosecuting the inquiry, and determined this time at least to avoid a repetition of the disaster, Cortes formed the resolution of making in person a final attempt. Having notified his intention to this effect, numerous adventurous spirits, attracted alike by the novelty of the enterprise, as well as by the ability of the man, flocked to his standard. With these, he started from Chiametla, on the coast of New Spain, and steered for that part of the coast where Ximenes had met with his death. He had with him all the requisites necessary for planting a colony—four hundred Spaniards, three hundred negro slaves, an abundant supply of farm

(1) Although it is very generally believed that Ximenes' party landed in California, it is yet not entirely beyond doubt.—Prescott and Taylor, see *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. III, p. 334, and *Exploration of Lower California*, p. 15—are of this opinion, but they have forgotten to give us the authority on which they make the assertion. Even granting that Ximenes did arrive at Santa Cruz Bay (which is by no means beyond doubt), he might have gone ashore only on one of the islands, and have been murdered there by the natives. All that Venegas says, is this: "For, coming to that part which has since been called Santa Cruz Bay, and seems to be a part of the inward coast of California, he went ashore, and was there killed by the Indians." *Hist. Cal., Venegas*.



Herward Bates.
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implements, seeds, and everything else required for the undertaking. With these he crossed the entrance to the gulf, and after very considerable difficulty, in which his vessels were often in a most perilous position from violent storms, he landed eventually on Californian soil, at Santa Cruz Bay, toward the beginning of June, 1536; thereby earning for himself the honor of being the first known discoverer of this part of the American Continent.¹

(1) I have used the expression "first known discoverer," for the author of the *Political Essay on New Spain*, in a note at page 321 of his work, says: "I found in a manuscript, preserved in the archives of the viceroyalty of Mexico, that California was discovered in 1526. I know not on what authority this assertion is founded. Cortes, in his letters to the Emperor, written so late as 1524, frequently speaks of the pearls which were found near the island of the South Sea (California was then thought to be an island); however, the extract made by the author of the *Relacion del Viaje al Estuero de Fuca* (P. VII, xxii,) from the valuable manuscripts preserved in the Academy of History, at Madrid, seem to prove that California had not been seen in the expedition of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, in 1532." (See *Political Essay on New Spain*.)

THE BULL "INTER CETERA DIVINÆ MAGISTRATE BENE-
PLACITA OPERA," &c.

ALEXANDER, BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD:
To our beloved son Ferdinand, King, and to our beloved daughter Isabella, Queen of Castile, Leon, Arragon, the Sicilies, and Granada: Most illustrious personages, health and apostolic benediction.

Among the many works pleasing to the divine Majesty and desirable to our hearts, this particularly prevails, that the Catholic faith and Christian religion, especially in our times, may be exalted, amplified, and everywhere diffused, the salvation of souls procured, and barbarous

nations subjugated and made obedient to the faith. Hence, when we were raised by the divine clemency, though of little merit, to the holy chair of Peter, knowing you to be true Catholic kings and princes, as indeed we have always known you to be, and as you have also by your illustrious deeds made yourselves known as such to the whole world: nor did you merely desire to be such, but you have also used every effort, study, and diligence, sparing no fatigue, no cost, no danger, even shedding your own blood, and devoting your whole soul and all your energies to this purpose, as your conquest of the kingdom of Granada from the tyranny of the Saracens in our days, with such glory to the divine name, testifies; we are induced, not unworthily, and we ought, to grant to you those things favorably and spontaneously by which you may be able to prosecute this undertaking, so holy and praiseworthy to the immortal God, and that you may daily increase more and more in fervor for the honor of God and the propagation of the kingdom of Christ.

We have heard to our great joy that you have proposed to labor and use every exertion, that the inhabitants of certain islands and continents remote, and hitherto unknown, and of others yet undiscovered, be reduced to worship our Redeemer and profess the Catholic faith. Till now you have been fully occupied in the conquest and capture of Granada, and could not accomplish your holy and praiseworthy desires nor obtain the results you wished. You sent, not without the greatest exertions, dangers, and expense, our beloved son Christopher Colon, a man of worth and much to be commended, fit for such business, with vessels and cargoes, diligently to search for continents and remote and unknown islands on a sea hitherto never navigated; who finally, with the divine assistance and great diligence, navigated the vast ocean, and discovered certain most distant islands and continents which were previously unknown, in which

very many nations dwell peaceably, and, as it is said, go naked and abstain from animal food, and, as far as your ambassadors can conjecture, believe there is one God, Creator, in heaven, and seem sufficiently apt to embrace the Catholic faith, and might be imbued with good morals, and have every reason to believe that, if instructed, the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ may easily be established in the said islands and continents; that in these islands and continents already have been found gold, spices, and many other articles of value of different kinds and qualities. Every thing being diligently considered, especially for the exaltation and diffusion of of the Catholic faith, (as it behooveth Catholic kings and princes,) according to the custom of your ancestors, kings of illustrious memory, you have proposed to subjugate the aforementioned islands and continents, with their inhabitants, to yourselves, with the assistance of the divine goodness, and reduce them to the Catholic faith, and that the said Christopher Colon may construct and build a fortress on one of the principal islands of sufficient strength to protect certain Christians who may emigrate thither.

We therefore very much commend in the Lord this your holy and praiseworthy intention; and that you may bring it to the proper end, and by it establish the name of our Lord in those parts, we strenuously exhort you in the Lord, and by your baptism, by which you are obligated to the apostolic mandates, and by the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, we earnestly exact of you, that, when you undertake and assume an expedition of this kind, you do it with a humble spirit, and with zeal for the orthodox faith; and you must wish, and ought to induce the people living in those islands and continents to receive the Christian religion; and let no dangers, no fatigues, at any time deter you, but entertain

hope and faith that Almighty God may crown your efforts with happy success.

To enable you more freely and more boldly to assume the undertaking of such an enterprise, by the liberality of our apostolic favor, *motu proprio*, and not at your request, nor by the presentation of any petition to us on this subject for you, but of our pure liberality, and from the certain knowledge and plenitude of apostolic power, we grant to you and your heirs, and your successors, kings of Castile, Leon, &c., and by the present letters give forever, all the islands and continents discovered and to be discovered, explored and to be explored, towards the west and south, forming and drawing a line from the arctic pole, that is the north, to the antarctic pole, that is the south, whether the islands or continents discovered or to be discovered lie towards India or towards any other part, which line is distant from one of the islands vulgarly called Azores y Cabo Verde one hundred leagues west and south; so that all the islands and continents discovered or to be discovered, explored or to be explored, beyond the aforementioned line towards the west and south, not actually possessed by other kings or Christian princes before the day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ last past, from which the present year 1493 commences, when any of the said islands are discovered by your emissaries or captains, we, by the authority of Almighty God, given to us in St. Peter as vicar of Jesus Christ, which authority we exercise on earth, assign you and your heirs and said successors all the dominions over those states, places and towns, with all rights, jurisdiction, and all their appurtenances, with full, free, and all power, authority, and jurisdiction. We make, constitute and depute, discerning nevertheless by our donation, concession and assignment of this kind, that the rights cannot

be understood to be taken away from any Christian prince who actually possessed such islands or continents before the aforementioned day of Christ's nativity, nor are to be deprived of them.

We moreover command you, by virtue of holy obedience, (as you have promised, and we doubt not from your great devotion and royal magnanimity that you will do it,) that you send to the said islands and continents tried men, who fear God, learned and skillful, and expert to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic faith and teach them good morals, using proper diligence in the aforementioned things, and we forbid every one, under pain of excommunication *ipso facto*, no matter what may be his dignity,—even imperial, royal,—state, order or condition, to act contrary to this our mandate. And we severely forbid any one to go to the islands or continents discovered or to be discovered, explored or to be explored, towards the west or south, beyond the line drawn from the arctic to the antarctic pole, one hundred leagues from one of the islands commonly called Azores y Cabo Verde, towards the west and south; and let no one, for trade or any other reason, presume to approach without your special license, or that of your heirs and successors aforementioned, notwithstanding constitutions or apostolic ordinances, or any thing contrary to it. Trusting God, from whom empires and dominations, and all good things proceed, will direct your actions if you prosecute this holy and praiseworthy object—hoping that shortly your labors and efforts may obtain a most happy termination, and redound to the glory of all Christian people.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1493, 9th of May, and first year of our pontificate.

ALEXANDER.

Few Papal documents have ever excited such unfavorable comment as this. Non-Catholic writers generally point to it as an evidence of the extravagant and unjustifiable pretensions of the head of the Catholic Church, in seeking to dispose of kingdoms and countries at pleasure. It must, indeed, be admitted that the terms of the Bull, taken without an explanatory clause, admit of such an unfavorable interpretation. The Catholic Church, however, has ever disclaimed for herself such a prerogative; she has never assumed the right to destroy the autonomy of nations, Christian or Pagan. Her every grant and concession has always been interpreted in harmony with that common principle of civil and canon law, "*concessio quantumvis ampla et absoluta sit verbo, debet intelligi restricta ad terminos juris et æqui.*"

All the theological writers, too, from the time of Alexander down to the present, have unanimously interpreted the Bull in a sense favorable to the rights and independence of the American races. Bellarmin, one of the greatest authorities, after referring to the document, puts himself this objection: "*At Alexander VI. divisit orbem nuper inventum regibus Hispaniæ et Lusitaniæ. Respondio non: non divisit ad eum finem ut reges illi proficiscerentur ad debellandos reges infideles novi orbis et eorum regna occupanda, sed solum ut eos adducerent fidei Christianæ predicatorum, et protegerent ac defenderent tum ipsos predicatorum*

tum Christianos ab eis conversos et simul ut impedirent contentiones et bella principum Christianorum qui in illis novis regionibus negociari volebant." (*De Summo Pont.*, Lib. V., C. 2.)

Paul III., in his brief "Pastorale Officium," issued May 22d, 1537, forty-four years after the occurrence, explains the grant in a similar sense. But what is more satisfactory still, as showing the sense in which the Bull was intended, is another almost similar document—an Apostolic Letter addressed by the same sovereign Pontiff to the King of Portugal, in which explanatory clauses are found. In this apostolic letter, which was of the same tenor as the Bull, conferred the same rights and privileges, and was framed almost in the same language, we read the following clauses: "De civitatibus, castris, etc. Infidelium, quæ te in Dominum cognoscere *velle* contigerit, auctoritate apostolica; etc." And again: "Districtius inhibentes quibuscumque regibus ne se contra *sic* se tibi *subjicere volentes* quovis modo apponere, etc." (*Raynaldi Annales.*)

The Kings of Spain, though naturally inclined to extend their privileges as far as possible, also understood the grant in this sense, as is clear from the laws enacted at the time for the American colonies, a digest of which has been published under the title of "Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias." In this series, under the heading "De los Descubrimientos," the following enactment oc-

curs: "En estas y en las demas poblaciones la Tierra adentro, eligan el sitio de los que estuvieren *vacantes*, y por disposicion nuestra se pueden ocupar *sin perjuicio* de los Indios, y de los Naturales, o con su *libre consentimiento*."

The meaning of the Bull, "Inter Cetera," was not an authorization to make war on the American races, to violently take possession of their country by force of arms to the detriment of their national rights, but solely to bring them to a knowledge of the Christian religion, and when converted, to protect and defend them against enemies, as also to prevent other sovereigns of Europe from trading with or otherwise enriching themselves by a communication with those peoples. If, in the prosecution of this task, the Kings of Castile, and their responsible agents, exceeded the limits of the grant, this is not an offence to be charged to the account of the Church.

Nothing, indeed, as several historians have justly remarked, could be grander or more worthy of the age than that of two powerful monarchs thus submitting their differences to the arbitration of the common Father of the Faithful. If only such a mode of settling disputes and determining rights had been continued during subsequent ages, how many deplorable wars would have been avoided; how much bloodshed would have been spared; how many rights preserved.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPANIARDS IN FLORIDA. — ARRIVAL OF NARVAEZ' FORCES. — THEIR ADVENTURES AND MISFORTUNES. — MOST OF THEM DIE. — FOUR MAKE THEIR WAY ACROSS THE COUNTRY TO THE PACIFIC. — THE MIRACLES THEY PERFORMED. — THEIR ARRIVAL IN MEXICO.

WHILE Cortes was engaged in the conquest of Mexico, and his discoveries in the southern ocean, the interests of Spain were suffering severely in another part of the country. From 1512 to 1542 a series of disasters attended the arms of the Spanish commanders in the valley of the Mississippi.¹ Most of the forces of Leon, Cordova, and Ayllan perished in the war with the natives. Of the three hundred Spaniards who landed in Florida in 1527, under the command of Narvaez, three only: Cabeça de Vaca, Castillo, and Durantes remained to tell the tale of the disaster. These, with Estavanico, a negro who happened to be of the party, after wandering for an entire decade among the savages of the country, arrived at Culiacan, on the shores of the Pacific, the very year that Cortes landed in California. The hardships and privations they endured had so altered them in manner and appearance, that they were known only as Spaniards by their language. The accounts they gave their

(1) See *Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 13.

brethren in Mexico of their singular adventures, and the miracles which the Almighty had been pleased to work at their hands in behalf of the natives, excited the wonder and admiration of all. A summary of these wonders, it is thought, will not be uninteresting to the reader.

On the seventeenth June, 1527, a Spanish fleet of five vessels, with six hundred men and forty horse, under the command of Pamphilo de Narvaez, sailed from old Spain, with the view of conquering and colonizing a portion of the Atlantic coast, from the extremity of Florida to what was then known as the river Palmas. The expedition was accompanied by four Franciscans, who, like most of their companions, perished in the unfortunate attempt. After experiencing considerable difficulty and danger at sea, especially at the island of Trinidad, where in a storm they lost sixty of their companions and twenty of the horse, they ultimately arrived at their destination, on the morning of Holy Thursday of the year 1528.

The following day, after disembarking the greater part of the men, they took formal possession of the country in the name of his Majesty, a circumstance always observed in those days by the Spaniards before making a settlement.

Their arrival on the coast, instead of being as they expected the end of their difficulties, was only the commencement of their misfortunes. From some unaccountable cause—culpable inat-

tention, it would appear, on the part of the proper authorities in laying in the necessary stores—their stock of provisions was all but exhausted. The impossibility of obtaining another supply on the coast, rendered it necessary, in order to avoid a miserable end, to make for some near and populous native possession. By signs, they were led to believe, by the natives, that at a place called Apalache, some distance in the interior, there was an abundance of all they required. Trusting to the truth of the statement, and encouraged moreover with the hope of the riches they were induced to believe they would find in the place, the greater part of the expeditionary force, three hundred men and forty horse, set out for the country of the Apalaches, the remainder being left in charge of the vessels, with instructions to steer a little in advance, and there await the arrival of their companions.

The expeditionary party was but poorly provided for the journey—only having two and a half pounds of provisions for each man. After traveling continuously for fifteen days, living as best they could on the little sustenance afforded them by nature, they finally arrived at the place they had sought, but only to find it a miserable village of two score, or more, insignificant huts. Instead of the abundant supply of provisions, the gold, silver and valuables in which they were led to expect the place did abound, they found, on

the contrary, only a limited quantity of maize, a few dozen deerskins, and some mantlets of thread. Thus disappointed, and suffering severely from want, they directed their course to the sea, with the view of being able to fall in with the vessels. In this, however, they were again subject to disappointment, for on reaching the shore no vessel was to be seen. Either they had gone on in advance, or had met with some accident and were unable to arrive.

In this critical position, destitute of all means of support, save the roots, berries and vermin on which the natives were accustomed to live, only one possible means seemed left to them of rescuing themselves from a most miserable death. It was to construct a few little barks, and coast along the shore till they fell in with their former companions, or arrived at a more hospitable port. For the accomplishment of this, however, implements and appliances were needed, of which they were utterly destitute. They had none of the conveniences necessary for building a vessel. Hatchets, saws, nails, hammers, ropes, sails and caulking, were all alike equally wanting to them. All they possessed were their clothes, their muskets, and the trappings of the horses. How to construct with these a sea-going craft, capable of affording accommodation to over two hundred persons, was a problem which, under more favorable circumstances, would have presented insuperable diffi-

culty. Even in the extremity to which they were reduced, the work was at first regarded impossible. But when life is depending on individual energy, the powers of the mind are marvelously active. There is an aphorism: "Necessity is the mother of invention." It was so in this individual instance.

One of the company, more ingenious than his companions, by constructing a bellows from a deer-skin and some pieces of wood, struck at the root of the difficulty. A gleam of hope now shone over all; a passage from the valley of death was then clearly to be seen. The bellows at work, axes, saws and hammers were quickly made out of the nails, spurs, stirrups and saddle-bows of the cavalry! The fibres of the palmetto supplied excellent tow for caulking; the pitching was done with a certain resin which exuded from the trees in the locality. The manes and tails of the horses were found to answer remarkably the purpose of ropes and rigging, while, from out the shirts of the company, tolerably respectable sails were effected!

Sixteen days were thus spent in forming five little craft, each capable of affording accommodation to about fifty of the number. The work had to be hurried on as rapidly as possible, for even the horseflesh, on which they mainly relied for support, was well nigh exhausted. In fine, on the 27th of September, 1528, the entire number, consisting of two hundred and forty-two persons, the

remainder having died from hunger and exhaustion, put to sea in the wretched little vessels, gotten up in the manner described. Whither they were to proceed, to what port they were to steer, where to seek aid and release from their miseries, they were entirely unconscious of. One thing only was certain; that to avoid a most certain and inevitable death, it was necessary to betake themselves somewhere. Even the chances of escaping the perils of the deep, in the frailest of barks, while struggling for life, was better and more preferable than perishing helplessly from starvation, on shore.

For several days, they coasted cautiously in a southern direction, constantly exposed to the danger of being swamped by the sea, of being attacked by the natives from land, and suffering not a little, meanwhile, from the inclemency of the season, and the want of the necessary supplies. Finally, they arrived at an island, which they subsequently styled the Island of Malhado, or Misfortune, a name sufficiently indicative of the sufferings they must have endured on it. There, the greater number of the company, worn out by hunger, fatigue and exposure, ended their misfortunes in death. The relation given of their terrible privations, at this stage of their adventures, by one of the survivors, is touching and painful in the extreme. Deprived of every other means of support, they were compelled to feed on the bodies

of their departed companions, taking even the precautionary measure of smoking and drying the flesh, in order to preserve it for subsequent use. But even this repulsive and unnatural means of support was necessarily limited. In one instance, a number of the ill-fated men lived in this fashion, the survivors feeding on the flesh of the departed, each prolonging his existence as far as was possible, until, in the end, only one had remained!

The greater number shortly succumbed to their terrible sufferings; a few only held out for some months; but even the majority of these eventually sank under their trials, when there only remained those of whom we are speaking; and who eventually succeeded in crossing the continent, and joining their brethren on the Pacific, thereby accomplishing the most remarkable journey on record in the annals of this country. The names of the four were those we have mentioned at the commencement of the chapter.

For six years they remained in the capacity of slaves, employed by the natives in searching for roots, shell fish and berries. Their condition was indeed a most trying and deplorable one; for, oftentimes, not being able to procure sufficient to satisfy the hunger of their masters, they were subjected to the greatest indignity and punishment. In fine, feeling that life, under such a condition, was a burden rather than a boon—that death would be preferable to such an existence,

they resolved upon crossing the continent, or perishing in the attempt. Strangers, indigent, ignorant alike of the countries and peoples through whom they should pass, not to speak of the distance and natural difficulties of the way, the journey was to them a most arduous and perilous enterprise. But the Almighty, who is never absent from his servants, was present with them in their trials, shielded them from their numerous enemies, and safely conducted them from out of their bondage. Like another Joseph in Egypt, or Patrick in Ireland, the mercies of the Lord were ever upon them. What facilitated their journey, or rather what opened them a passage at all from the country, were the numerous marvelous works which the Almighty was pleased to effect at their hands, in favor of the Gentiles. It is true, there is no other proof of the truth of these wonders, than the statement of the parties themselves. The relation, however, is made in so modest and, apparently, trustworthy a manner, that it would be both rash and unreasonable to withhold our assent, especially as their statements in other respects, regarding the customs and habits of the people, have since been shown to be true.¹ Moreover, there is hardly any other plausible way of accounting for their safety and deliverance, seeing that they had to pass through so many and such barbarous tribes, noted for their cruelty and hostility to strangers.

(1) See notes to Smith's Translation of *Cabeca de Vda.*

The circumstance under which the Almighty was first pleased to work cures at their hands, is thus simply and unassumingly narrated by the leader of the party: "In the island of which I have spoken (Malhado), they wished to make us physicians, without examination, or inquiring for our diplomas. They cure by blowing upon the sick; and by the breath and the imposing of hands they cast out infirmity. They ordered us that we should do this likewise, and be of use to them in something. We laughed at what they did, telling them that it was folly, and that we knew not how to heal. In consequence, they withheld food from us, until we should do what they required. Seeing our persistence, an Indian said to me that I knew not what I uttered in saying that that profited nothing which he knew, for that the stones and other things which grow in the fields, have virtue, and that he, by passing a hot stone along the stomach, took away pain, and restored health, and that we, who were extraordinary men, must, of all others, possess the greatest power and efficacy. At last, we found ourselves in so great want, that we were obliged to obey; but, however, not without fear that we should be blamed for any failure of success.

"The custom is, on finding themselves sick, to send for a physician, and after the cure, they give him not only all that they have, but they seek among their relatives for more to give. The prac-

tioner scarifies over the seat of pain, and then sucks about the wounds. They make cauteries with fire, which is a remedy among them in high repute; and I have tried it on myself, and been benefited by it. They afterwards blow on the spot that is scarified, and having finished, the patient believes that he is relieved.

“The method that we practiced, was to bless the sick, breathe upon them, and recite a Pater-noster and an Ave Maria, praying with all earnestness to God, our Lord, that he would give them health, and influence them to do us some great good. In his mercy, he willed that all those for whom we supplicated, should, directly after we made the sign of the blessed Cross over them, tell the others that they were sound in health! For this, the Indians treated us kindly; they deprived themselves of food, that they might give to us, and they presented us with some skins and some trifles.”¹ The next instance of this kind, of which the writer makes mention, was after they had crossed to the main land, and effected their escape. Two days after they fled from their masters, they arrived at a village, where they were received by the natives with every demonstration of joy, because of the account of their works having already preceded them. “That same night of our arrival,” continues the narrator, “there came some Indians to Castillo, and told him that they

(1) *Narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca*: Translated by Buckingham Smith; pp. 51-52.

had great pain in the head, begging him to cure them. After he had made over them *the sign of the Cross*, and commended them to God, instantly they said that all the pain had left; and they went to their houses, and brought us many pears and a piece of venison, a thing to us little known. As the report of his performance spread, there came many others to us that night, sick, that we should heal them; and each brought with him a piece of venison; until the quantity was so great we knew not where to dispose of it. We gave many thanks to God, for every day went on increasing his compassion and his gifts. After the sick were attended to, they began to dance and enact their ceremonial rejoicing, until the morning, at sunrise; and because of our arrival, their festivities were continued for three days."¹

The fame of the Christians was now fully established; nothing was spoken of in the country but the marvelous cures they had so readily effected, and the wonders they were capable of doing. Report had even magnified, rather than diminished, the greatness of the works which the Almighty was pleased to work at their hands. In consequence, crowds of the natives were attracted to their presence from every quarter, some to look upon such remarkable beings, some to obtain their benediction, and not a few to solicit a cure for their infirmities. The faith and confidence of the

(1) *Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca*; p. 70.

people increased to such a degree that they believed them even capable of raising the dead to life. And there are even grounds for supposing that the Lord did bestow upon them such a marvelous grace. Amongst others to whom they were called to administer, was one who was said to be in the agonies of death. The account of the transaction is best given in the words of the performer himself: "At the end of the second day after our arrival, there came to us some of the Lusolas, and besought Castillo that he would go to cure one wounded and others sick: and they said that among them there was one very near his end. Castillo was a timid practitioner, and chiefly so in the cases most fearful and dangerous; for he believed that his sins must weigh upon him, and at some time hinder him from performing cures. The Indians told me to go and heal them, for they liked me well, and remembered that I had ministered to them in the walnut grove, for which they had given us nuts and skins, and it occurred when I first joined the Christians. So I had to go with them, and Dorantes accompanied me with Estavainico. When I came near their huts, I perceived that the sick man we went to heal was dead; for there were many persons around him weeping, and his house was prostrate, which is a sign that the one who dwelt in it is dead. When I arrived I found the eyes of the Indian rolled up, he was without pulse, and having all the appearances of

death, as they seemed to me, and as Dorantes said. I removed the mat with which he was covered, and I supplicated our Lord as fervently as I could that he might be pleased to give health to him, and to all the rest who might have need of it. After he had been blessed and breathe upon many times, they brought me his bow and gave me a basket of pounded pears.

“They took me to cure many others who were sick of a stupor, and they presented me with two more baskets of pears, which I gave to the Indians who had accompanied us. We then went back to our lodgings. Those to whom we gave the pears tarried, and returned to their houses at night, and reported that he who had been dead, and for whom I had wrought before them, had got up hale, and had walked and eaten and spoken with them, and that all to whom I had ministered *were well and very merry*. This caused great wonder and fear, and in all the land they spoke of nothing else. All those to whom the fame of it reached, came to seek us, that we should cure them and bless their children.”¹

It was here, while residing in this particular part of the country, that they heard of the following remarkable circumstance: Several years previous to their arrival the inhabitants of the locality were very much tormented and alarmed by the frequent appearance among them of an apparently

(1) *De Vaca*; p. 73.

preternatural being, who, on account of his character and conduct, they unanimously denominated by the name of "the evil one." He invariably appeared at their doors and entered their dwellings with a torch in his hands, and though to appearance in the shape of a man, they were never able to catch a glimpse of his features. His conduct was as strange and mysterious as his appearance was alarming, for, after inflicting upon them terrible wounds, he would presently heal them by the mere effect of his touch. When asked whence he had come and where he abode, he replied by pointing to a fissure in the earth, saying that there was his home. A full and accurate account of this remarkable circumstance may be seen in the work of De Vaca.

The fear that had previously possessed the adventurers of not being able to pass unmolested through so many and such barbarous tribes, was now entirely removed. So far from offering any violence to their persons, the savages, in consequence of the works they had wrought, rather contended for the honor of offering them kindness, seeking in every instance to retain them as long as was possible, being of opinion that their presence alone was sufficient to secure them an immunity from sickness, and even from death. "And so great confidence had they that they would become healed if we should but administer to them, that they believed that whilst we remained there none of them could die."

The manner of reception they met with in the different parts of the country was very different. That which at first was marked with respect and veneration, coupled with love and filial attachment, was changed as they advanced, by reason of the report which preceded them, into a species of fear and alarm. Speaking of the conduct of the inhabitants at this juncture, the writer says: "So great was the fear upon them, that during the first days they were with us they were continually trembling, without daring to do, speak or raise their eyes to the heavens."

The cause of this fear was not so much the wonders they had effected, as the firm and unshaken belief, on the part of the people, that the strangers had come to them from the world above, and were truly the Children of the Sun. The influence thus attained by the Christians, would, under more favorable circumstances have presented an admirable opportunity for introducing the Christian religion among these barbarous tribes. As such it was regarded by the Christians themselves, for they assure us that, had they been able to make themselves perfectly intelligible to the people, they would easily have succeeded in bringing the entire country to a knowledge of the truth. As it was, they gave them some elementary notions of our holy religion, and left with the resolve, that, upon reaching the Pacific, they would earnestly solicit the proper authorities to attend to this work.

The customs observed by the people in conducting the Christians from one tribe to another, deserve the notice of the reader. They were remarkable, not because of the attention paid to the party, but rather on account of the injuries inflicted on the entertainers by the accompanying escort. Thus, when starting from any particular locality, they were accompanied by a large number of the inhabitants who conducted them to the neighboring tribe, whither they were hastening, and as the latter were supposed, in conformity with the custom of the country, to place everything at the disposal of the strangers, the people who formed the escort, immediately on arriving, set to plundering everything that came in their way. At first this was most painful and disagreeable to the Christians, but as it was the general usage, and as the plundered were sure to become plunderers in turn, and thereby to indemnify themselves for the losses sustained, the barbarous usage had to be tolerated as sanctioned by custom. Its application in a particular instance is thus briefly alluded to in the work before named: "We walked till sunset, and arrived at a town of some twenty houses, where we were received, weeping and in great sorrow; for they already knew that wheresoever we should come, all would be pillaged and spoiled by those who accompanied us. When they saw that we were alone, they lost their fear, and gave us pears, but nothing else. We remained there that night,

and at dawn the Indians broke upon their houses. As they came upon the occupants, unprepared and in supposed security, having no place in which to conceal anything, all they possessed was taken from them, for which they wept much. In consolation the plunderers told them that we were children of the sun, and that we had power to heal the sick, *and to destroy*; and other lies, even greater than these, which none know better than they how to tell, when they find them convenient. They told them to conduct us with great respect, that they should be careful to offend us in nothing, and should give us all that they might possess, and endeavor to take us where people are numerous; and that wheresoever they arrived with us they should rob and pillage the people of what they have, for that it was customary." (See "Note" at end of chapter.)

After this another custom prevailed among the inhabitants in the manner of receiving the strangers. Instead of coming forward in great numbers and receiving them, as at first, with much joy, not unaccompanied with fear and alarm, the inhabitants remained shut up in their huts, apparently mourning and stricken with terror, their faces turned to the wall, and their property in little heaps on the floor for the acceptance of their guests.

No less remarkable were other peculiarities observed by the people in relation to each other. Among others, on the Atlantic coast, was that of

mourning for the dead during the entire space of a year. Three times a day, morning, noon and night, they gave expression to their sorrow in wailing and lamentations, but only in case of the young. At the end of that period, the obsequies were performed, which, in some instances, consisted in burying, and in others in burning the remains. When burned, the ashes were presented in water to the relatives to be drunk. Should the deceased happen to be brother or son, those in whose house he departed, abstained for a period of three months from seeking the ordinary means of support. Sooner would they perish of want than violate this singular usage, unless the friends and relations supplied them with food. And so, in time of public calamity, when several fell victims to the prevailing disease, the sufferings among the living were frequently unusually great.

Among the Yequages, and some other neighboring tribes, a most horrible practice of female infanticide was universally practised. The reason they assigned for this most revolting and unnatural custom, was to avoid increasing the number of their enemies. For, as they did not consider it proper to enter into marriage with any of their own particular tribe, because of the family relations existing between them, and being at enmity with all the neighboring people, to marry their daughters under such circumstances would only be, in their opinion, to add to the number of their foes, they

deemed it the best and most advisable course to settle the matter in the manner described. As regarded themselves, they always purchased their women from the neighboring Indians, for though ever at war, they were ready to trade in this matter. The ordinary price for a wife was a bow and a couple of arrows!

The marriage relation was not of any longer continuance than the parties desired; they separated on the slightest pretence, and attached themselves to others whenever they pleased. The women ordinarily nursed their children till the age of ten or twelve years, when they were able to provide for themselves. Many other customs and observances are referred to by the writer, which it would be only tedious to recount.

In fine, favored by the Almighty in the most remarkable manner referred to above, shielded from a thousand dangers and difficulties, the four Christians of whom we are speaking, passed through the whole of the American continent, from Florida to California, thereby accomplishing one of the most remarkable journeys on record in the annals of this nation.

NOTE.—There are several reasons to believe that the miracles recorded by Cabeça de Vaca, as having been performed by him and his fellow-companions, were really effected. The simple and unostentatious manner in which, as we have said, the entire narrative is told, is very much in its favor. On any other principle, save the special interposition of Heaven, it would be exceedingly difficult to account for their safety. Not to speak of the many and extraordinary physical difficulties they must have encountered on the journey, from hunger, cold and fatigue,

it is hardly possible to suppose that some or other of the numerous hostile tribes through which they passed, would not have detained them as slaves, like those among whom they first happened to fall, or have deprived them of life, as strangers and enemies, unless they had beheld at their hands some great and remarkable deeds.

One of the strongest and most satisfactory proofs, of the truth of their assertion, is the fact, that forty-five years later, when Antonio de Espejo, in command of a military expedition, passed through a part of the country traversed by the Christians, he found, even then, a most vivid recollection existing in the minds of the people, of having been prayed over and blessed by De Vaca and his companions. And so impressed were the natives with the importance thereof, that on that particular occasion, they came to the Religious who accompanied the expedition, in order to receive their benediction, a thing they certainly would hardly have done, had they not, in the first instance, witnessed some remarkable results following therefrom. Furthermore, were we only accurately informed of all that transpired on the occasion between Espejo and the natives, it is probable we might learn also of their having spoken of the miracles performed; but as Hakluyt, on whose authority we make this assertion, was only proving the truth of the adventure, it was not in his way, nor, indeed, did he care to go into details on a matter not immediately appertaining to his subject.

Again, on arriving in Spain, De Vaca published an account of the wonders, a thing he would hardly have done, if the statements were false, as he would be liable to be exposed by his fellow-companions. Inasmuch, too, as he urged in his work the importance and advantage of reclaiming and christianizing the peoples he spoke of, we have herein an additional proof for the truth of his statement; for he must have been aware that if missionaries were sent, they would immediately have learned whether the works were really effected or not. When, in addition, we take into account the important consideration that his description of the habits and customs of the natives on the Atlantic border coincides with that of De Bry, the first writer after his time, we have then reasonable grounds to believe in the truth of the narrative.



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CHAPTER IV.

FATHER DE NIZA MAKES A TOUR THROUGH SONORA, AND REPORTS FAVORABLY OF THE COUNTRY.—THE VICEROY AND CORTES PREPARE TO SUBJUGATE IT.—DISAPPOINTMENT.—MASSACRE OF FATHER PADILLO AND BROTHER JOHN OF THE CROSS AT TIGÜE.—CABRILLO'S EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA.—OXENHAM, DRAKE AND CAVENDISH APPEAR ON THE COAST.—SUPPOSED DISCOVERY OF A NORTHEAST PASSAGE.—SPAIN PREPARES TO DEFEND THE COAST.—FIRST RELIGIOUS WHO VISIT CALIFORNIA.

THE feeling of surprise created by the accounts related in the preceding chapter, was further increased by the following circumstances: In 1538 the year after the party arrived in their country, Marcus de Niza, a Franciscan, having heard from a lay-brother of his order most favorable accounts of the valley of Sonora and its inhabitants, resolved to preach the gospel in person to those tribes. How far he proceeded on his charitable mission is unknown, but as he employed several months in the work, it is to be presumed he advanced a considerable distance. On his return he gave the most flattering description of the country, representing the soil as rich and fertile, affording an abundant supply of grain and fruit, while the mountains abounded in rich and precious ores. He further added, that he was informed of the existence of several important towns of civilized natives farther to the north, and of one in particular, called Quivira, whose houses were seven stories high and celebrated all over that region.

The missionary's account, as may be imagined, threw all Mexico into a ferment ; so great was the excitement that nothing was talked of in the city but the prospect of conquering a province as remarkable as that which had made Cortes so famous in history. The general opinion, too, regarding the riches of the Indies, of which so much was then spoken, as well as the recent discoveries in Peru and New Spain, were additional motives in the minds of the Spaniards for prosecuting an inquiry into the nature and character of the newly-discovered region. As the matter was too important to be left in abeyance, the Viceroy and Cortes immediately resolved to attempt the subjugation of the country, but their designs being irreconcilable the failure of the expedition was the result. Both, in consequence, attempted to try it, each on his own responsibility. The governor's armaments consisted of a naval and a land force. The command of the fleet was entrusted to Francis de Alarcon, who was commanded to steer along the coast to the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, where he should await the arrival of the land force. The Viceroy, himself, had resolved upon taking charge of the second part of the expedition, but, in consequence of the distracted state of public affairs at the time, was necessitated to abandon his purpose, and in his stead he appointed to the command Vasquez Coronado. At the head of a thousand chosen men Coronado started from Mexico, well provided with every-

thing necessary for conquest and settlement. His guides were Franciscans. After advancing three hundred leagues through Sinaloa and the valley of Sonora, they finally arrived at the place where they expected so much. Instead of large, rich, well-built, populous towns, as they were led to expect, they found, to their disappointment, only a few miserable villages, comprising a kingdom called Cibola. The largest of the number which they named Grenada, contained a couple of hundred houses roughly built of wood and clay, but of four or five stories, and approached by wooden stairs or ladders, which were removed during the night.

The general appearance of the country, though fit for agricultural purposes, in no way answered the expectations of the Spaniards, so that they did not deem it advisable to form a settlement there. Unwilling, however, to return to Mexico without being able to give a more favorable account of the expedition, they resolved upon dividing the force, and examining the country more accurately. Accordingly, Lopez de Cardena moved with the cavalry in the direction of the sea, while Coronado, the commander of the expedition, marched onward to a locality called Tigie, where he received such flattering accounts of the city and country of Quivira, that, though at a distance of three hundred leagues farther on, he determined to visit the place. The ruler of Quivira, who was named Tatarax or Patarax, enjoyed the two-fold title of

King of Axa and Quivira. He was represented as a very venerable man, with a flowing beard, of great wealth, and partly Christian. As in the case of Cibola, the Spaniards were also disappointed here in their favorable anticipations. The sole riches of the country they found to consist of herds of a certain species of black cattle, which served the natives for food and raiment. Along the coasts they noticed several vessels which they took to be Chinese, as by signs they learned they had been at sea for a month. Among the Spaniards there were those who were desirous of settling in the country, but the majority refused to come into their views. At length, their ranks being thinned by death, and the survivors weakened and discouraged by sickness and fatigue, it was determined to abandon a country where they could expect to reap only so trifling an advantage. They accordingly prepared for their return to Mexico, where they arrived at the beginning of 1542, after an absence of three years, without any better result than having dissipated the erroneous ideas respecting the riches and capabilities of the country.

The expedition forwarded by Cortes, and which consisted of three vessels, under the command of Ulloa, was still more unfortunate. One of the vessels foundered at sea, and the others proceeded on their voyage only to encounter a thousand impediments from the natives, the season, and sickness. In a terrible storm, in the vicinity of the

Island of Cedros, the vessels were parted, and by some it is thought that the one in which Ulloa had sailed was lost, but of this there is doubt. The other, however, returned safely to Acapulco, with the sole advantage, during its voyage, of having established the fact of California being a peninsula.

Of the Religious, who accompanied Coronado's expedition, Father John de Padillo and brother John of the Cross, remained at Tigue, together with a Portuguese and some Indians of Mechanow. On the departure of Coronado, the Religious returned to Quivira, where they were massacred with some of their companions by the natives. The Portuguese had the good fortune to escape, and after a considerable time made his appearance at Panuco. Thus ended the efforts of the land force dispatched by the Viceroy for the conquest of the new country.

In accordance with the original plan, Alarcon, the commander of the fleet, proceeded along the coast to the point indicated by the Viceroy, but the army not arriving, and the term of his instructions having expired, he set up memorials of his presence and returned to New Spain, where he immediately fell into disgrace, and retired to the territory of Cortes where he died of chagrin.

While the Viceroy Mendoza and Cortés were preparing their respective expeditions, for the purposes referred to, the conqueror of Guatemala,

Don Pedro Alvarez, was also preparing another which he intended to co-operate with that of the Viceroy. His share in the general force consisted of a fleet of twelve vessels, constructed at very considerable cost at the port of Natividad. He was, however, prevented sending this aid, having accidentally met with his death by a fall from his horse just at the time that the vessels were preparing for sea. The ships were subsequently taken charge of by the Viceroy, who, after the failure of the expedition, despatched two of them—the San Salvador and the La Vitoria, under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, with instructions to continue the examination of the coast farther north than the point reached by Ulloa. Cabrillo put to sea on the 27th of June, 1542, and on the 2d July sighted the California shores ; three days later he anchored at Cape St. Lucas, so named by him on that occasion. Thence he continued his voyage, entering at different points along the coast, to which he gave appropriate names, till the 22d of August, when he entered a beautiful harbor where he remained for some days, and to which he gave the name of Puerto de la Posesion, or Possession Port, in consequence of his having taken possession of the country there in his Majesty's name. Here he learned by signs from the natives that some of Ulloa's companions were still living at some distance in the interior, but, as he was unwilling to abandon his vessels, and, probably, not trusting very con-

fidently to the assertions of his informers, he contented himself with merely giving them a letter to be conveyed to his countrymen. Whether the natives effected their commission, or had only been deceiving the commander from the outset, is entirely unknown, but, in either supposition, no further information was received of the party. What is especially to be regretted is, that Cabrillo himself did not enter the country with a few of his companions, and ascertain the truth or falsehood of the statement, or at least have remained sufficiently long on the coast to give his countrymen time to arrive from the interior, in case the statement proved to be true. Neither of which he found it convenient to do, for he immediately started on his voyage; and, on the 28th September, entered an excellent land-locked harbor, to which he gave the name of San Miguel, but now known as San Diego, the first important port on this side of the line which divides Upper from Lower California. Thus the honor of being the first to land on the shores of Upper California, is due to the eminent Spanish navigator, John Rodriguez Cabrillo.

He was also the first to make an accurate examination¹ of the coast of Lower California, to most of whose bays and openings he gave appropriate names. From San Miguel he continued his examination as far north as the Port of Pines—

(1) Bernal Diaz del Castillo drew up a map of the country in 1541.

the present Monterey—where he was taken ill and died on the Island of San Bernardo on the 5th of January, 1542. His pilot, Bartholomew Ferrelo, took charge of the vessel, and advanced to the forty-third degree of latitude, but here encountering unfavorable weather, he was necessitated to return. It was he who discovered the Cape, afterward named Mendocino by Viscaino, in honor of the Viceroy Mendoza.

From this, till the British appeared on the coast, only one more expedition was dispatched by the Spanish authorities in 1564. The commander of this was Andreas Urdaneta, the author of a chart, which was subsequently used by the Spaniards for a century or more.

The tranquillity which the Spaniards hitherto enjoyed in prosecuting their inquiries along the northern coast, and in trading with the East, was now destined, for the first time, to be rudely disturbed. Inflamed by the accounts given of the Spanish possessions, and hoping to enrich themselves by a system of plunder, a body of reckless English adventurers, commanded by one Oxenham, crossed the Atlantic in 1575, and after passing the Isthmus, constructed a vessel in the Pacific with which they attempted to ravish the Spanish possessions. Their depredations were not of long continuance, for they were almost immediately arrested by the authorities, and executed for their crimes. Their punishment, though

severe, was insufficient to prevent others from following in their steps. Hence, the appearance on the coast in 1579, of Captain, afterward, Sir Francis Drake. After pillaging the South American Spanish possessions of Chili and Peru, and, having captured the royal Philippine vessel, by which he became possessed of nearly two millions of dollars, Drake stood up to the north, and landed, it is thought, at Punta Los Reyes, between Bodega and the port of St. Francis, where he took possession of the country in Her Majesty's name. That he did not enter the Golden Gate, we will afterwards show, when we come to speak of the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco.

To relieve the memory of Drake from the unfavorable light in which it is generally regarded, some of his countrymen have thought well to remind us, that his piratical adventures were only in retaliation for an act of injustice done him by the Spaniards. In 1567, while proceeding to Mexico in company with Captain, afterwards Admiral, Sir John Hawkins, they were attacked by the Spaniards, when four, out of six vessels composing their fleet, fell into the hands of the authorities. As the expedition was entirely a mercantile speculation, Drake having invested in it all the capital of which he was master, he returned a pauper to England, and in vain petitioned Charles V. for indemnity for his losses. Disappointed in his hopes, if indeed he ever seriously entertained any,

he vowed with an oath to obtain from the Spaniards by pillage what was denied him by law. In 1570 he obtained a commission from Elizabeth. Two years later, with a fleet of three vessels, he made a descent on the South American Atlantic border in the vicinity of New Grenada, and, after plundering several settlements, found himself possessor of a much larger fortune than he had lost in the Mexican speculation. How the apology offered by his admirers could have justified him in this and gained him the approval of his royal mistress, it is not necessary here to inquire. On his return to England, far from falling under the displeasure of his sovereign, he even received marks of the royal esteem by being honored as a hero. While on the Atlantic border at Darien, like Balboa, he had seen from the summit of a lofty mountain the still waters of the Pacific, yet unexplored by the British. The representations made by him to the sovereign of the feebleness of Spain, and the glittering prizes to be made, obtained from him a new commission, consisting of five vessels and a hundred and sixty-four men, with which he sailed through the straits of Magellan, and appeared, as we have said, in the Pacific in 1579. Fearing to fall in with the Spaniards by returning the same route, he traversed the Pacific, crossed the Indian ocean, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in England on the 26th of September, 1579. Four months later

he was knighted by Elizabeth, who partook of a banquet on board his vessel.

Whatever notions the majority of the people of Great Britain may have entertained respecting the justice of the course adopted by Drake, the rupture of friendly relations at this time between Philip and Elizabeth was considered sufficient justification for continuing like acts, while the success attained under the circumstances, were not slow in inciting others to follow a like course. Accordingly, we are not astonished at finding a broken-down gentleman, attached to the Court of St. James, fitting out on expedition with the view of retrieving his fortune, and obtaining the favor of his sovereign. Thomas Cavendish, or Candish, to whom we refer, started from England for the Pacific on the 21st July, 1586. He had instructions from the crown to carry the war into the Spanish American Dependencies. His mission was faithfully executed, for he sacked, pillaged and burned every town and village that came in his way from Patagonia to California. The great object of his ambition, however, being the capture of the Spanish galleon from the Philippines, he awaited her arrival at the extremity of Lower California. He had not to delay very long, for about the 4th of November, the ill-fated vessel came in view when, after a desperate encounter, Cavendish succeeded in making her his own. By this he became possessed, it is said, of 122,000 pezos in gold, equiv-

alent to \$3,000,000 in silver, besides a valuable cargo in merchandise. The captured vessel he ran into the nearest port, where he set her on fire, having liberated the crew, amounting in all to one hundred and ninety persons. Satisfied with this remarkable success, he prepared to return to England, following the route pursued by his predecessor across the Pacific to the Ladrões, through the Indian Archipelago, and round by the Cape. He arrived at Plymouth on the 9th September, 1588. The true character of his expedition is best learned from his own words. Boasting of his exploits, he says: "I have navigated along the coasts of Chili, Peru and Nova Espagna, where I made great spoils; I burned nineteen ships small and great, and *all the villages and towns I landed at I burned and spoiled.*" Cavendish returned again three years later on another buccaneering expedition, but this time not with such marked success to himself, for he sickened and died at sea.

It should have been observed, that previous to the appearance of Cavendish in 1582, Francisco Galli, a Spaniard, on returning from Manila and Macao, made a reconnoissance of the coast as far north as the fifty-seventh degree of latitude. To him was near being due the honor of discovering the Bay of San Francisco, for, in his account of the voyage, he tells us that while descending the coast, he witnessed the sea covered with numerous debris—evidently the result of the periodical rains,

by which these numerous objects were carried out into the ocean.

The Spanish authorities were now, for the first time, rejoiced at the announcement that the long-desired passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific had at length been discovered. An adventurer, Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, pretended to have sailed through its waters, to which he gave the name of the Straits of Anian. The discovery, if real, was certain to prove of the highest importance to Spain, for the voyages to the East would have been shortened by several months. To ascertain the truth of Maldonado's assertion, a fleet of three vessels and one hundred men was immediately equipped and despatched by the Viceroy, with instructions to garrison and fortify the entrance lest the British might make use of it for arriving in the Pacific and ravaging the Spanish possessions. The expedition proceeded only as far as Lower California, when a mutiny occurred and the project was abandoned. Four years subsequent another attempt was made to prove the truth of Maldonado's assertion. John De Fuca, about whose identity so much doubt has been expressed by several writers, was sent by the Viceroy in 1592 on a similar errand. De Fuca had been pilot in the last expedition, and was also on board the *Santa Anna*, captured by Cavendish. With a command of two vessels he sailed to the forty-eighth degree of latitude, where he entered a strait,

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probably the present Puget Sound, which he took for the one he was in search of. After sailing up it several days he retraced his course, returned to Acapulco and reported his success to the Viceroy. The matter was still discredited by many, and for one hundred years and more seems to have kept the country in a state of suspense, for as late as 1791 the Sutil and Mejicana, under Galliano and Valdez, were despatched by his Majesty, in order to clear up all doubt regarding De Fuca's assertions. But even those seem to have fallen into the popular error, and to have realized the truth of the Roman commander's assertion, "Quod fere libenter homines id, quod volunt, credunt."¹

The injuries which had been inflicted upon the South American Spanish possessions by the British adventurers between 1575 and 1587, and the fear lest such acts should be repeated unless prevented by precautionary measures, now for the first time aroused the responsible agents of government, and caused them to enter upon measures for the defense of the coast. The objects to be attained were of no minor importance. The whole of the South American possessions had to be defended; the annual Philippine vessel to be protected, the countries along the Californian coast reduced to subjection and the Christian religion established. Instructions were accordingly received from old

(1) *Cæsar de Bello Gallico*: Lib. iii., Cap. 18.

Spain to form garrisons along the coast, and, as the extremity of the Californian Peninsula was the chief rendezvous of the pirates, it was deemed proper to first establish a garrison at that point.

In compliance with his Majesty's wish the Viceroy, Gaspar de Zuñiga, Count de Monterey, immediately prepared an expedition consisting of three vessels, which he entrusted to the care of Sebastian Viscaino. The fleet started from Acaapulco for California about the beginning of 1596, there being on board *four Franciscans*. These were not, in all probability, the first missionary priests who landed in the country; for, as early as 1535, Cortes, when preparing for his expedition, is represented as being joined by several ecclesiastics. Whether they actually embarked and landed in the country, is not positively stated by any writers; hence, under the doubt, to the children of St. Francis must be granted the honor of having first unfurled the banner of our holy religion on Californian soil. The fleet put in, in the first instance, to the isles of Mazatlan, where fifty of the crew deserted their commander; thence, they proceeded to the port at which Cortes had anchored, probably the present La Paz, where they remained for a couple of months. During the stay, the Fathers made every effort to give the aborigines some elementary notions of the Christian religion, and, under the circumstances, seem to have succeeded as well as could be expected. They

showed, we are told, the greatest respect and veneration for the Fathers, regarding them as beings of a superior order, and asking them if they were not "Sons of the Sun." Their conduct during the holy sacrifice of the Mass, at which they were frequently permitted to be present, was respectful and edifying; the rites and ceremonies filled them with wonder and admiration. Their ready and prompt obedience, too, to the commands of the Religious showed them to be a docile, tractable people, and fit subjects for the reception of the Gospel.

Viscaino, finding his provisions running low, and the country unequal to the support of his men, determined upon abandoning the enterprise and returning to Acapulco, where he arrived in October, 1596. Six years later, in 1602, Viscaino headed another expedition for a like object at the command of Philip III. He was accompanied on this occasion by three Carmelite Friars, Father Andres de la Asencion, Thomas de Aquino and Antonio de la Asencion, the last of whom wrote an account of the voyage. Speaking of the reception they met with from the Indians, Father Antonio says: "When the boats were near the shore, the Indians, seeing such a number of armed men, retired in great consternation to an eminence in order to secure themselves, if the strangers should attempt anything against them. All the people in the boats landed, but, as they advanced towards the

Indians, they retired till Father Antonio, in order to allure them to a friendly conference, went up alone toward them, and, by signs and gestures, so far prevailed that they waited for him; and coming up to them he embraced them all in the most affectionate manner."

After putting into various ports along the coast, on the 10th of December they entered the harbor of San Miguel, then for the first time named San Diego by Viscaino. Thus ended the third examination of Lower California, the two former having been made by Ulloa and Cabrillo respectively. From San Diego he proceeded north to about the forty-third degree of latitude, in the vicinity of the present city of Oregon, but finding the weather unfavorable and several of his men suffering from scurvy and other diseases, he altered his course and returned to Mexico, where he arrived on the 29th of April, 1603.

The next priest who visited the coast was Padre Diego de la Neva, who accompanied Don Francis Ortega in his expedition of 1632. De Neva had been appointed by the Bishop of Guadalaxara as Vicar of California, though it is difficult to see in what his ministrations of Vicar were to consist, none of the natives having been yet brought to a knowledge of the truth. Ortega did not remain more than a few months in the country, having obtained a large quantity of valuable pearls, with which he returned to Mexico and which he disposed

of to the greatest advantage. He returned again the following year, as also the year after, accompanied by his former missionary friend, and another named Father Juan de Zuñiga.

Sixteen years later, in 1648, we find two Jesuit missionaries, Fathers Yacinto Cortes and Andreas Baez, accompanying Admiral Casinate, but these, like their predecessors, remained only as long as the squadron lay on the coast. Indeed, all the Religious, who hitherto entered the country, were more in the character of chaplains to the expeditions than missionaries to the natives. The time had not yet come when the missionary priests should enter unreservedly upon the conversion of the natives, living their lives and sharing their fortunes. I merely mention this fact in order that the reader may not be unaware, that the country had been casually visited by missionaries previous to the date when, as we shall presently see, a regular organized effort was made for the conversion of the people.

Again, in 1668, Francis Luzivilla, an enterprising citizen, fitted out an expedition at his own private expense with the view of forming a colony on the coast. He was accompanied by two Franciscans, Fathers Juan Caranco and Juan Ramirez, who are represented as having made an earnest but ineffectual effort, during their short stay in the country, for the conversion of the natives. Luzivilla's object was to make a settlement in the

country, while the Religious were to employ themselves in the conversion of the people. He attempted his project by forming a little colony at Puerto de la Paz, but the difficulties proving too great, he had to abandon his purpose.

The last expedition undertaken at the expense of government took place in 1683. It was commanded by Admiral Otondo, and attended by three Jesuit missionary Fathers, named respectively Father Kühno, Juan Baptista Copart, and Pedro Mathias Goni. The expedition landed on the 2d of June, 1683, and remained till September, 1685, a period of over two years, during which the Fathers laid the foundation of the missions, and prepared the country for the introduction of christianity. The missionaries' first care was to learn the language, after which they occupied themselves in translating into it the principal articles of the Catholic faith. As can be readily understood, not having any elementary works, the difficulties they encountered were unusually great. The entire absence, too, of appropriate terms to express certain religious ideas was an additional obstacle in the way. The following may serve as an instance of this: When occupied in translating the creed, they were unable to find a word proper to express "the resurrection from the dead." That there should be in the language such a term they could not reasonably doubt, but to find it was the difficulty. Taking some flies,

in the presence of the Indians, they put them under water till they were supposed to be dead; then, exposing them to the rays of the sun till their vital faculties were restored, the Indians, on seeing the change, cried out in amazement, "Ibimuhueite! Ibimuhueite!" which the Fathers took to express, "they returned to life," and in absence of a better expression, applied it to the resurrection of the Redeemer.

During the two years they remained in the country, four hundred adults were prepared for the holy sacrament of baptism; but, as the missionaries were unable to remain longer than the expedition, none were received into the church except those in danger of death. Of these there were thirteen, three of whom recovered, and were brought away by the Fathers, with the consent of their parents. In fine, the garrison being reduced to the greatest extremities for want of provisions, the admiral embarked his men and abandoned the country, the barren and inhospitable nature of whose soil, and not the hostility of the natives, prevented him from making a permanent settlement on the coast. Twelve years later, in 1697, the reduction of the country was entrusted to the care of the Fathers, and the missions regularly established, as we shall afterward see.

CHAPTER V.

ETYMOLOGY OF CALIFORNIA. — CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY. — EXTENT. — CAPABILITIES. — TRIBES. — PERICUES. — MONQUI. — COCHIMES. — LANGUAGE. — MODE OF LIFE. — PHYSICAL CHARACTER. — UNACQUAINTANCE WITH LETTERS. — HIEROGLYPHICAL REMAINS. — MENTAL CONDITION, ETC.

FROM the time of the discovery of California by Cortes, in 1536, to 1701, when the fact of its being a portion of the main land was fully established by the Jesuit missionary, Father Kühno, it was generally regarded, in Europe, as an island, or, indeed, a cluster of islands. That part of the ocean was, in consequence, regarded as an archipelago. Hence the name by which we find it sometimes mentioned in history, "Islas Carolinas," a name given it in honor of Charles II. of Spain. Previous to this, it had been known as Ciguatan, Santiago, Santa Cruz, Islas de Perlas and Islas Amazonas. The gulf was likewise honored with different titles, as the Sea of Cortes, the Vermilion Sea, the Mar Lauretana, etc.¹

Why it should have been regarded as an island, later than the middle of the sixteenth century, seems difficult to understand; as in a map, drawn up in the year 1541, by Bernal Diaz del Castillo, an officer in Ulloa's expedition, the country is represented as a peninsula, and almost in its actual

(1) See *Exploration and Settlement of Lower California*: by J. B. Brown, p. 7.

state. Whether Castillo formed his map after a careful examination of the coast, or from a probable conjecture of its character, I am unable to say; but that the Jesuit missionaries were the first to establish the fact, and to obtain for it general assent, must be admitted by all. The energy and ability displayed by the Fathers in solving this geographical problem, and in surveying the inner and outer coasts, under the most difficult circumstances, as we shall afterward see, entitle them to the respect and admiration of all, and to honorable mention in the annals of this country, whether civil or religious.

The etymology of the word California is involved in impenetrable obscurity. The oldest and best informed writers have been unable to determine its meaning. Some are of opinion that it owes its origin to accident; being, as they suppose, a word used by the Indians, but, misinterpreted and misapplied by the Spaniards. Others are inclined to believe it a Latin polysyllable, compounded of the words "calida fornax" (heated furnace), by which they ingenuously suppose the discoverers designated the country, on account of the intensity of the heat. Others, again, as Father Aroio, derive it from a word in the vernacular, signifying a species of gum, known to exude very freely from a particular timber of the country. How far any or all these opinions are worthy of attention, is left entirely to the judgment of the

reader to determine; nor, indeed, is it much to our purpose, beyond gratifying an idle curiosity, to be able to assign the true etymological meaning of the word.

The great extent of coast, within which the two Californias are comprised, makes it apparent that a great diversity of climate must be the natural result. There are not, perhaps, any other sections of the American continent, of equal extent, presenting such a diversity of climate, and so great a dissimilarity in capabilities and natural productions. The one is, in general, with little exception, arid, barren and inhospitable, affording little attraction for man or beast; while the other, though in many instances, presenting like characteristics, is yet, on the whole, fruitful, productive and salubrious.

Speaking of Lower California, the author of the natural and civil history of the country, says: "It may be said, in general, that the air is dry and hot to a great degree; and that the soil is barren, rugged, wild, everywhere overrun with mountains, rock and sand; with little water, and, consequently, unfit either for agriculture, planting or grazing." And in another place, the same author writes: "The aspect of Lower California, generally speaking, is disagreeable and forbidding, and its broken land is extremely rocky and sandy; it lacks water, and is covered with thorny plants, where it is capable of producing vegetation; and where not, it is covered

with heaps of rocks and sand. * * * * The whirlwinds, which sometimes occur, are so furious, that they uproot trees, and overturn the huts. The rains are so rare, that should two or three showers fall during the year, the Californians consider themselves peculiarly blessed. Springs are few and scarce, and so far as rivers are concerned, there is not one on the whole peninsula; although the rivulets of Mulegé and San José del Cabo were dignified with that name. The latter runs through San Bernabé, and, after a short course of two miles, empties itself into the gulf, at twenty-seven degrees. All the rest are brooks or torrents, which, being dry the whole year, when it rains contain some water, and their current is so rapid that they upset everything, and carry destruction to the few settlements which exist here."

This is confirmed by Baron Von Humboldt, who made a voyage to the coast in 1811. "The soil," writes the Baron, "is sandy and arid, like the shores of Provence; vegetation is at a stand, and rain is very infrequent." And again: "Old California, on account of the arid nature of the soil, and the want of water and vegetable earth in the interior of the country, will never be able to maintain a great population, any more than the northern part of Sonora, which is almost equally dry and sandy."

That the foregoing is a tolerably accurate estimate of the country in its general aspect must

be admitted. Hence the sparseness of the population by which it has been hitherto inhabited. By the appliances, however, of modern science, and under the indomitable energy of the American race, Lower California is likely, before long, to assume a respectable position as a mercantile, mineral and agricultural province. Indeed, there are those who are of opinion, that by a well-conducted system of irrigation, effected mainly on the artesian-well principle, the valleys, plains and table-lands of the country might be brought to a high degree of agricultural perfection. The testimony of one who has spent several years in the country is decidedly to this effect.

“Throughout the territory,” writes Mr. Sprague, “are valleys, plains, table-lands and tracts on the mountains that are first-class agricultural land. Water is found in many places on the surface, and almost anywhere by digging a moderate depth, or by artesian boring, in much larger quantities than superficial observers, or persons not well acquainted with the country and climate, would suppose. By artesian wells, or broad wells, or pits, lifting the water by windmills, a large breadth of the country can be cultivated in tropical and semi-tropical productions, as well as wheat and corn of a more northern climate. The climate of the peninsula is undoubtedly one of the healthiest in the world; and for persons of consumptive habits, without a parallel. This fact is getting to be

more and more known on this coast; and were the facilities for purchasing land such as to afford encouragement, numbers from the population of this coast would go up there to make their home."

Independent of artificial irrigation, the same writer assures us that much might be made of the country. Extensive crops of wheat, oats and barley are annually raised in different parts by the ordinary means. Cotton, which is indigenous to the soil, is represented as of a remarkably fine and silken texture. Vines thrive exceedingly well, and produce, we are told, a wine but little inferior to Madeira.

Olives, dates, figs, and other tropical fruits, are found there in considerable quantities; while, as regards the esculents, the sweet potato is chiefly remarkable both for size and quality. Added to this, there can be hardly any doubt about the existence of extensive mineral beds of a rich quality of ore.

Already the greater part of the country has found its way into the hands of American companies. In 1866, the Mexican Government, under the Presidency of Juarez, sold to the Lower California Colonization Company forty-six thousand eight hundred square miles of the country for the sum of two hundred and sixty thousand dollars in gold. The Peninsula Plantation and Homestead Association also obtained from the government extensive tracts along Mulegé and Concepcion Bay, in the Gulf

of California. The companies propose to conduct their respective investments on the principle of cheap labor, imported from China and Africa; but whether such shall not rather result in a species of vassalage, and prove of little advantage to any, except those forming the monopoly, remains to be seen. It is, however, to be observed that the companies are ready to dispose of a portion of their allotments to emigrants desirous of settling in the country. The entire extent of the peninsula is two hundred thousand square miles, with a population of from forty to fifty thousand, composed of natives, Spaniards, Mexicans, Americans, Germans and French.¹ The exports, which consist of hides, salt, cheese, sugar, figs, etc., are estimated at an annual value of between one and two million dollars. In short, it is probable that before long, Lower California will assume a far more prominent position than she has hitherto attained under Spanish or Mexican rule; and most probably, too, when that shall have been attained, the country, like Alta California, will become a portion of the American Republic.

Of Upper, or American, California, much more may be said in its praise. Although in general possessing somewhat similar characteristics, being a continuation of the same line of coast, it possesses numerous advantages which the other does not

(1) In 1867, the population was twenty-six thousand. Vide *Exploration Lower California*; p. 77.

enjoy. A better and more appreciable climate, heavier and more certain periodical rains, larger and more productive valleys, and mineral resources of a superior and more extensive character, may be stated as among the advantages.

In dimensions, Upper California is the second largest State in the Union, second only to Texas, and comprising within it, as we have said, an area of one hundred and eighty-eight thousand nine hundred and eighty-two square miles. Its general aspect, like that of Lower California, is hilly, mountainous, and uneven. The Sierra Nevada, or Snowy Range, on the eastern, and the Coast Range on the western side, are the principal mountain chains, some of which, as Mount Shasta and Mount Whitney, rise to an elevation of between fourteen and fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea. Between those extensive ranges, which run irregularly through the entire length of the country, are several extensive valleys, of from twenty to thirty miles in width, and from one to two hundred in length, capable of maintaining large populations, and remarkable alike for the richness and fertility of their soil, the beauty of their scenery, and the salubrity of their climate. Of these, the Sacramento, San Joaquin, Santa Clara and Yosemite are the principal, the two former being regarded, and justly, as the garden of California. The scenery of the Yosemite is equal to any to be met with on the American continent.

The mountain ranges in the North are, for the most part, covered with luxurious forests of oak, pine, laurel, cedar and redwood; the latter, in some instances, growing to the enormous proportions of thirty feet in diameter, and as many as three hundred and fifty in height—characteristics which have earned for them the soubriquet of “Big Trees.” Scattered through the country in various directions are numerous beautiful lakes, to the number of twenty or more, the largest being Tulare, and the most elevated Lake Tahoe or Bigler, situated at a distance of six thousand feet above the sea. Eight and twenty rivers flow from these lakes, or otherwise rise in the mountains, watering and fertilizing the valleys on their way to the ocean. The entire population of the State, according to the latest returns for the year 1870, was five hundred and fifty-six thousand six hundred and thirteen, which is an increase of almost two hundred thousand for the last decade; the number in 1860 being only three hundred and seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-four.

The agricultural and garden productions which comprise many, both of the temperate and tropical, regions, are comprehended mainly under the head of wheat, oats, barley, grasses, oranges, lemons, etc. The tropical productions are confined exclusively to the southern parts of the State, in the immediate vicinity of Los Angeles and the

other neighboring towns. The yield of grain, being greater than that required for the necessities of the population, large quantities are annually exported to the Eastern States and to Europe. Two years prior to this, in 1868, the wheat crop gave a return of nineteen millions of bushels, and the oats and barley seven millions, while the wine crop for the same year is put down at five millions gallons.

The raising of stock, and particularly of sheep, has also begun to form one of the most important interests of the State. In 1869, the wool amounted to eighteen millions of pounds, which, after some years, will doubtless be very considerably increased. There is, however, one not very inconsiderable danger which ever threatens the agricultural and stock interests of the State. It is the occasional droughts with which the country has been visited at times. Deprived of the periodical rains, the crops and the cattle suffer extremely. The former are prevented from coming to maturity, and the latter perish by thousands for the want of necessary pasturage. But the danger from this is now immeasurably less than in the past, as far as the stock is concerned; for, in case of a drought, either the cattle can be transported to the East by the railway, or fodder supplies brought into the country by similar means. The expense attending either resort would be undoubtedly great, yet comparatively small, relatively to the entire

loss of the herds. But as it has not been the agricultural resources of the country that have raised California to her present position, as a principal State of the Union, but her extraordinary mineral wealth, unparalleled by any other in the world, it is to the latter, and not to the former, she must still look for assistance in advancing on the road of national prosperity. The total value of gold derived from the country, since its discovery in 1848, has exceeded the almost fabulous sum of one billion dollars. Of this enormous yield, sixty-five millions was the largest amount realized in any one year. Independent of the gold and silver mines, the country also produces copper, iron, lead, coal, platinum, nickel, salt, borax, tin, zinc and quicksilver. The principal exports are gold and grain; the annual amount of which leaving the coast may be judged from the fact of twenty-three million dollars worth of merchandise having left the port in 1868. In fine, the capabilities, natural resources and favorable mercantile position of the country are all so strongly in its favor as to leave little to be doubted that, before the present generation shall have passed, California will have attained the rank of one of the leading States of the Republic.

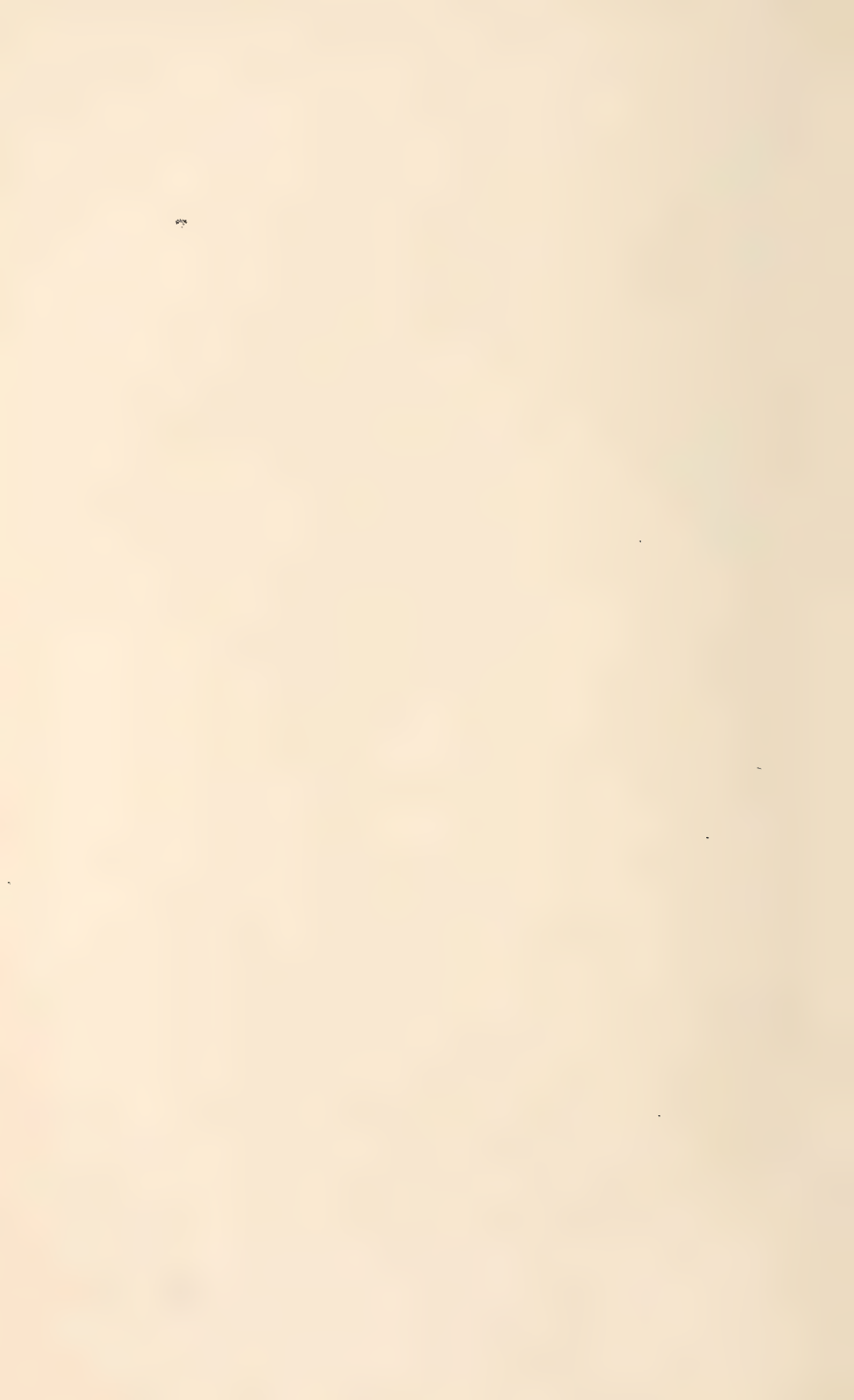
Before informing the reader of the labors and exertions of the missionary Fathers in behalf of the natives, it is proper to give an account of the habits, manners and customs of the people. On arriving in California, the Jesuit missionaries found

the country inhabited by different tribes, or more properly, different nations, inasmuch as they spoke different languages and were governed by separate chiefs. There has been considerable speculation regarding the division of the inhabitants and the number of languages. The most probable and judicious opinion classifies the aborigines of Lower California into the following tribes: The Pericues, who inhabited the south; the Monqui, who dwelt in the interior; and the Cochimes, who lived in the north. The Pericues and Cochimes were also known under the names of Edues and Laymones. The three principal bodies were further subdivided into several minor tribes known under special appellations, and speaking different languages, or, at least, widely different dialects of the same tongue. The most numerous of these principal divisions was that of the Cochimes, or Laymones, divided like the others into several smaller bodies, differing exceedingly in their language as regarded its idiom, pronunciation and termination. To the north, on the west of the Colorado River, inhabited the Bagiopos and the Hoabonomas; while in Upper California, between San Diego and Cape Mendocino, the country was divided between the Washoes, the Piutes, Shoshones, etc., some thousands of whom still roam unconverted through the mountains, encamping sometimes in the neighborhood of towns, and passing a precarious existence. Among the inhabitants of



A. L. Boncroft & Co. Lith.

Female Indian of California making basket



Upper California, the diversity of language was found to be even greater than among their brethren of the south. In his history of the customs and manners of the Indians, Father Boscana assures us that within every fifteen or twenty leagues a different language prevailed—so different as to be entirely unintelligible to those of the neighboring missions. “The natives of San Diego cannot understand a word of the language used in this mission—San Juan Capistrano—and in like manner those in the neighborhood of Santa Barbara and further north.”¹ How this is to be accounted for, except by attributing it to a difference of race, is difficult to be seen, and yet to admit such a variety of origin is open to serious objection.

Of the present unconverted inhabitants, little can be said in their favor. Like their ancestors of old, they lead a wandering, migratory life; moving periodically from place to place, for the purpose of hunting, fishing, amusement, or the gathering of supplies. Being entirely unacquainted with every form of civilized life, and the comforts and advantages attendant thereon, they suffer but little from their rude, nomadic existence. Though averse to all manual labor, some of them not unfrequently engage in little works for the whites, for which they receive a trifling remuneration. But, as a rule, they make no provision for their wants, beyond what is offered them spontane-

(1) *Historical Account of the Indians*; by Father Boscana, p. 240.

ously by nature. Some, indeed; (but they are the exceptions) sow little patches of corn and beds of melons; while others tend a species of clover, of which they are exceedingly fond. The principal staple commodities, however, on which they mainly rely for a living, are pine nuts, grass seeds, roots, berries, and the product of the chase. Yet, when pressed by hunger, they will not refuse reptiles, insects and vermin. In fact, there is hardly anything in the shape of animal or vegetable food too coarse and indelicate for the poor Californian Indian. One half of the year is ordinarily spent in making provision for the other half. How meagre this must necessarily be, the reader may readily imagine.

Their dwellings, which hardly deserve the name, are ordinarily located on the banks of rivers, or in the dells of mountains. They are among the rudest and least comfortable habitations of any people in the world. A few poles, stuck circularly in the ground, and brought together in a conical shape, constitute the woodwork of the hut. Over this, a few bundles of sage brush, a species of brush-wood, are loosely thrown, and in this consists the entire dwelling. Here, in these cheerless abodes, through which the rain, sleet and snow freely penetrate, the poor Californian spends the long winter night, without any other protection or defence against the inclemency of the season, save that afforded him by his mantlet of

rabbit or deer skin, or by the heat of his camp-fire from without. Yet, strange as it may appear, it is one of the rarest occurrences to meet with one of these children of nature suffering from the effects of a cold. Custom, from infancy, has inured them to their condition, and any change to a more delicate mode of existence, would, it is thought, be prejudicial to their health.

In respect to their raiment, they are as poorly and meagrely supplied, as in the matter of diet. Previous to the coming of the Americans among them, their dress consisted of the skins of those animals taken in the chase; but now, as a general rule, they are clad in the old, cast-off garments of the whites; but with what taste and comfort, may be readily imagined, from the life they lead.

The Indians that inhabited the country on the arrival of the missionaries, differed little from those of the present day. According to the most reliable testimony, they could not be favorably compared with the other American races. They were, we are assured, as weak in body as in mind. Like the South Sea Indians, those of Lower California daubed and painted their faces with ointment and colors, bored holes through their ears and nostrils, and otherwise disfigured their general appearance, so as to cause them to look, contrary to their intention, to the greatest disadvantage. Their complexion, was, in general, swarthier than that of the Indians of New Spain. They had no

idea of letters, nor of any method of computing the time; being, in this, similar to all the other American races, except the Peruvians and the Mexicans; the former of whom, had a substitute in their "Quipos," and the latter, in their hieroglyphical or symbolical representations.

The utter unacquaintance of the aborigines with the use of letters, and every method of recording historical events, is more to be regretted than may, at first, appear to the reader. For, with such a rule for our guidance, the origin of the people might be readily determined, though the record should not deal with the time, manner or circumstances of their migration. The only account the Edues and Cochimes could give the Religious, respecting their original country, was that their ancestors had migrated from the north; but, as they had no means of distinguishing the years, or of computing the time, the period of their migration, and the term of their abode in the country, could in no way be determined. That they were not, however, the descendants of the original inhabitants, is almost beyond doubt; for, from evidences which remained, it would seem that a more enlightened and intelligent race had previously inhabited the peninsula. Shortly before leaving the country, the Jesuit Fathers discovered in the mountains several extensive caves, hewn out of the solid rock, like those of Elephanta, in southern Hindostan. In these, painted on the rock, were

representations of men and women, decently clad, as well as different species of animals. One of the caves is described by a missionary, as fifty feet long, fifteen high, and formed in the manner of an arch. The entrance being entirely open, there was sufficient light to observe the painted figures. The males were represented with their arms extended and somewhat elevated, while one of the females appeared with her hair flowing loosely over her shoulders, and a crown of feathers on her head. The natural conclusion deducible from this is, that as painting and sculpture were entirely unknown to the Californians, at the time of the first missionaries, and as the figures were not representations of the people then inhabiting the country, the male population, at that time, entirely dispensing with clothes, they must have belonged to another and different race from the modern inhabitants. But whence this race had migrated, how long they inhabited the land, and whither they finally proceeded, there are now no means of determining, except by conjecture. The only thing approaching to certainty is, that they were less savage, more enlightened, and of greater physical stature. The latter is confirmed, as well by the assertions of the inhabitants themselves; who unanimously affirmed to the Fathers the prior existence of a powerful, gigantic race, as well as by the fossil remains found by the missionaries. As an instance, it may be sufficient to mention, that

at the mission of Kadakamong, Father Joseph Rotea discovered a human skeleton, which measured about eleven feet!

The cause of their own immigration they stated to have been a quarrel excited at a banquet, in which the chiefs of several nations were engaged. This, they asserted, was followed by a battle, from which the vanquished had to fly, and seek refuge in the woods and mountains of the peninsula. Whether the contest referred to was real or imaginary, is entirely unknown, just as there is no data for judging, supposing it to be true, where it occurred. This was the only account they could furnish the missionaries respecting their origin and emigration. The candor displayed in acknowledging themselves the descendants of the vanquished, when they might easily have pretended to be the offspring of the conquerors, speaks strongly in favor of the truth of their assertion. The ancient Romans and Carthagenians, by acknowledging themselves the descendants of conquered races, the former of the Trojans and the latter of the Tyrians, are instances of a similar candor. Although time and research have failed to bring forward any document or monument by which it could be satisfactorily proved that this portion of the American race emigrated directly from Asia, the most probable and only reasonable conjecture is that they did.

All the American Indians, if we except the nations referred to above, whose laws, policy and

government exhibited a certain cultivation of reason, differed very little in capacity, customs and manners. Their chief characteristics are stupidity, blindness of the sensual appetite and sloth. A constant love of pleasure and amusement of every kind, however trifling or brutal, pusillanimity, laxity; and a most wretched want of everything tending to form the real man, and to render him rational, inventive, tractable and useful to himself and society, is the character drawn of them by one who had the best means of being rightly informed.

The Californian's will was apportioned to his understanding. All the powers of his soul seemed checked in their infancy, and necessitated to move within the narrowest sphere. Ambition, he had none—patriotism, none—love of religion, none. Titles, honor, wealth and fame, which mean so much to us, and are the springs and sources of action, either for good or evil, were unmeaning terms in his regard. To see a companion praised or rewarded, to excel at the chase, the dance, or public assembly, seemed to be the only check upon sloth, the only incentive to activity. Avarice, that most destructive of passions, had little share in his character.

The simplicity of their lives, and the fewness of their wants, rendered ambition unnecessary. The entire extent of their desires was to obtain sufficient food for the passing day, relying on chance

for a supply for the ensuing. As they constructed no regular dwellings, living during the greater part of the year in the shade afforded them by their native woods, and retiring during winter to the natural caverns found on the coast, and in the mountains, their articles of furniture were neither numerous nor luxurious. They consisted exclusively of those instruments necessary for hunting, fishing and war. A boat, a bow and arrow, a dart and a bowl, were among their chief articles of use. A bone served them for an awl, a net for carrying their fruits and their children, and a couple of bits of hard wood for procuring fire, which was obtained by rubbing them briskly for some time between the hands. The only difference between the Indians of that time and this, some few thousands of whom are still scattered through the country, is that the latter are more civilized in the manner of dress, an acquirement they have learned from their contact with their American neighbors.

A people of such uneducated habits, whose minds were never illumined by the feeblest ray of religion or science, are necessarily the creatures of fancy and impulse. The uneducated savage is in many things a child. Fickleness is predominant in his character; his anger is easily aroused, while fury is of no longer duration than while it meets with no opposition. A people of this kind is a nation that never arrives at maturity. The

full development of the moral and physical man is the united work of religion and science.

One happy result of the deplorable ignorance of the aboriginal Californians was their unacquaintance with the use of intoxicating drinks; but, unhappily, they found a partial substitute for them in the smoke of an herb, with which they were accustomed to become inebriated on festive occasions.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNMENT. — POWER OF CHIEFS. — DRESS. — FESTIVALS. — POLYGAMY. MARRIAGE CEREMONIES. — CARNIVALS. — FEATS OF SKILL. — METHODS OF MAKING WAR. — RELIGIOUS IDEAS REGARDING THE CREATION OF THE WORLD. — THE CHIEF OUIOT. — IDOL-WORSHIP IN UPPER CALIFORNIA. — THE TEMPLE OR VANQUEECH. — THE GOD CHINIGH-CHINIGH. — TRADITION REGARDING THE DELUGE. — BELIEF IN THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL AND THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

FROM what has been said in the preceding chapter, it must not be inferred that the native Californians were destitute of every natural virtue. Harshness, cruelty and obstinacy had little or no part in their character. History represents them as exceedingly docile, gentle and tractable.

Their government, if the name be applicable in their case, may be judged from their manners. As they had no specified division of lands, possessions or immovables, laws were unneeded for the adjustment of rights or decision of cases arising out of illegal intrusions or unjustifiable claims. And, as in a state of society where law is unknown because all things are common, the power of the chief was naturally limited. The punishment of crime essentially implies the violation of law; and as in that primitive state the people had neither a written nor a traditional code whereby their actions were to be directed, but were governed en-

tirely, either by fancy or the natural obedience due by children to parents, the authority of the chief was in consequence more nominal than real.

But, as the common exigencies of their state rendered it necessary at times to seek counsel and guidance, the brave, the artful and eloquent were, by common consent, appointed as leaders, but this dignity, such as it was, was never the appendage of years, family or formal election. The duties of the chiefs or Caziques consisted mainly in giving orders for gathering the products of the earth, for conducting the fisheries and directing the military operations. "The leader or Cazique—writes Father Venegas—conducted them to the forest and sea coast in quest of food; sent and received the messages to and from the adjacent States; informed them of dangers; spirited them up to revenge of injuries whether real or feigned, done by other rancheros or natives, and headed them in their wars, ravages and depredations. In all other particulars, every one was entire master of his liberty."

A people who live by the chase, and are utterly unacquainted with the works and arts of civilized life, cannot be supposed to be in the enjoyment of a very costly and elegant wardrobe. It was so with the Californians. The dress throughout the entire country was almost unique. For the males whether children or adults, it was *nil*, if we except bracelets for the arms and an ornament in

the shape of a periwig for the head. As such, dress was in their case more an ornament than a protection of virtue, or defence against the inclemency of the seasons. The southern inhabitants were somewhat in advance of their northern brethren in the matter of finery, for, in addition to the ornaments spoken of, they generally wore an ornamented girdle round the loins, and a fillet of network on the forehead. To these they sometimes added a neckcloth embroidered with mother-of-pearl. The Cochimes wore the hair short, except a few locks on the crown of the head, which they permitted to grow long like the Hindoos of British India of the present day. These also wore a more elegant head-dress than their neighbors.

It is not to be supposed that the state of naked simplicity, so akin to primitive innocence, had any irregularity in their eyes; for, when requested by the Fathers to cover at least what modesty demanded, they not only looked upon the demand as unreasonable, but even became highly affronted. In their eyes nothing could be more ludicrous than one of their number dressed up in our fashion; to do so was only to expose ones self to the jest and ridicule of the tribe. As an instance: one of the Fathers, having in his employ a couple of boys in the character of servants and catechumens, thought he could not more effectually inculcate the necessity of modesty than by clothing the lads. Contrary, however, to his laudable intentions, they no

sooner appeared among their own, than they became the subject of general ridicule and most indecent remarks, so that to avoid being the butt of their tribe, they doffed their newly-acquired raiment, hung it upon a tree, and went *puris naturalibus*. Unwilling, however, to show themselves ungrateful to the Father, yet unable to bear the jests of their companions, they compromised the matter most conveniently for themselves by going naked in the tribe, and clad when returning to the mission!

The women throughout the whole of the country appear to have paid greater attention to modesty. With hardly any exception, they seem to have worn some defence of their virtue. The decentest and best clad were the Edues, who inhabited the southern part of the peninsula. Their garments consisted of a gown of the ordinary kind, reaching from the loins to the feet, and formed from the leaves of a species of palm-tree, beaten into flax and manufactured into thread. Over their shoulders was a garment of similar material. The hair was allowed to flow loosely on the back, while a net work of considerable ingenuity worn on the head, bracelets on the arms, and necklaces of shells, pearls and fruit-stones extending to the waist, gave them rather a handsome and attractive appearance.

The Laymonides women had a still more meagre wardrobe. They only made use of a garment made

of pieces of sedge, which descended from the waist to the knees. Sometimes they substituted the skin of a deer or other animal, which their husbands happened to kill in the chase. Like the Edues, they wore a cloak or over garment, but of a different kind, made from the skins of wolves, bears, foxes, or the like. This mode of attire is still in use among their unconverted descendants, for, though in most instances they have learned to dress after the civilized fashion, I have frequently seen them in the mountains of Nevada clothed in skins used as a cloak. The mode of carrying their infants is now the same as before; they are slung in baskets on the back. From what cause I am not aware, but their families never appear to be great, a couple or three children being the most belonging to any parent. Little though their intercourse with Americans be, it has not bettered their morals or ameliorated their condition. The use of intoxicating liquors, which has gone far to diminish their numbers, they have learned from the white man. As a rule, in every such case, the savage learns the vices, rather than virtues, of his masters.

As the people had no regularly appointed system of divine worship, as I shall presently show, when I come to speak of their religious form of belief, their festivals or gatherings partook more of the character of social entertainments than of religious assemblies. One of their principal fes-

tivals was the day set apart for the distribution of the skins of the animals taken during the year in the chase. The delight exhibited on these occasions, by the fair portion of the community, was in keeping with, in their eyes, the importance of the occasion. To them, a mantlet of beaver or rabbit skin, was as precious and as much the beau-ideal of perfection, as a silken or satin one would be to a Paris or London leader of fashion.

On the festival day, all the neighboring tribes and rancheros assembled at an appropriate place, where they erected an extensive arbor, the ground in front being cleared, to give room for the diversions of the people. In the arbor were placed the skins of the animals killed during the year, and spread out in regular order, so as to attract the wondering admiration of the multitude. None but the chiefs were permitted to enter the honored circle; ignoble blood should be contented to remain at a distance.

At the entrance of the arbor, arrayed in his habit of ceremony, stood a sorcerer, who, with animated gesture and wild vociferations, duly proclaimed the praises of the hunters. Meantime, the people, animated by the words of the orator, ran hither and thither in the wildest confusion, laughing, dancing, shouting and singing. The oration ended, as also the races, the skins were distributed, when the whole ended with a fandango

or ball, in which every principle of honor, propriety and virtue, was most shamefully outraged.

I have already remarked that this people passed their days in the open air, seeking shelter, in summer, from the action of the sun, in the shade afforded them in their native forests, and retiring, in winter, to the natural caves, found in the mountains and on the coasts. It is also equally true, that in some instances, they formed what, by some, might be regarded as dwellings. In the southern part of the peninsula, as also in Upper California, a custom prevailed, of constructing little huts of the branches of trees. In other parts, stone enclosures, a yard high and a couple wide, but devoid of a roof, served like purposes. In these meagre enclosures, the people generally slept, in a sitting posture. At present, the houses in use are, as I have remarked, small, conical huts, about four feet high, formed of sage brush, a kind of stunted shrub, piled loosely around a number of poles. Though thus greatly exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, rheumatic disorders are almost entirely unknown to the people. Moreover, it is to be observed, that the civilized life seems injurious to their constitutions, for, when any of their number are induced to conform to our customs, a general sickness and debility is certain to follow. The same was observed by the missionaries, as we learn from Father Clavijero, who assures us, that after the introduction of

Christianity, the number of the population became considerably diminished. From this, we might readily conclude that much of what civilization imposes upon us, as a necessity, is more the effect of our training, or the result of imagination, than an actual want of our nature.

Polygamy, or the custom of having a plurality of wives, was admitted and practiced; yet, though adopted by the people, it was more the exception than the rule. None but the chiefs availed themselves of the privilege. Infidelity to the matrimonial engagement was regarded as a heinous offence, except at their festival gatherings, where usage had legalized adultery, by granting to the victor in the race, the dance, or the wrestling match, this scandalous privilege. It would appear, however, that this custom prevailed only among the southern inhabitants; for, speaking of the northern tribes, a missionary describes them as reserved in their manners, and entirely free from debauchery and illegal amours.

The manner of forming the contract of marriage differed with the various localities. In one section of the country, it consisted in the bridegroom presenting his intended with a bowl made of thread. The damsel's acceptance or refusal formed or prevented the engagement. If the suitor were acceptable, the fair one, on her part, presented him with a net for his hair, the work of her own hands, and in this consisted the entire

ceremony. Among others, the covenant was made at the end of a fandango, which the lover gave in honor of his intended, and to which the entire tribe was invited.

In Upper California, the negotiations were generally conducted on more business-like principles. The lover repaired directly, *propria persona*, to the house of his inamorata, or loitered in the vicinity, until an opportunity presented itself of his addressing his beloved, when he made the proposal by saying, "I desire to marry you." To this, the girl invariably answered, "All right; I'll tell my parents, and you'll know."

Others, of a more timid and bashful disposition, used the intervention of a friend to learn the lady's intention, when, if not unfavorable, the assent of the parents was solicited. Not unfrequently, however, the parents themselves managed the entire matter, leaving the girl entirely unconscious of the affair until they addressed her as follows: "You are to marry so and so: you will be happy, because he is an excellent young man. You will have plenty to eat, because he knows how to kill the deer, the rabbit, and other game." A third class conducted the suit on different principles, by soliciting in the first instance the consent of the parents or guardians, which, when obtained, the girl was thus addressed by her father: "My child you are to marry such a one, for we have given you away to him."

From the moment the proffers were received, the suitor was admitted into the family as one of the household, taking upon him, at the same time, the obligations of providing for the requirements of all. The betrothed, on the other hand, immediately assumed the character of matron, attending to the domestic affairs, rising at dawn, bathing, supplying the fuel, and preparing the repast, all which she was required to perform alone. Thus, the young man had an opportunity of witnessing the admirable qualities of his intended. The wedding feast, which always lasted between three and four days, was attended not only by the friends and relatives of the bride and bridesgroom, but by the greater part of the village or rancheria where they lived. It was celebrated, according to custom, at the residence of the man, where a temporary arbor, capable of accommodating a large number of guests, was erected. The ceremony was begun by some of the chiefs, accompanied by a few of the matrons, going for the bride. On her arrival she was divested of her trinkets and superfluous garments, which her female attendants claimed as their legitimate spoil. Thereupon, she was placed on a mat by the side of her husband, and in this consisted the entire ceremony. They were then considered to be validly married. Before the termination of the feast, during which the guests occupied themselves in dancing, singing, and other amusements, the father ordinarily ad-

dressed his daughter on her duties and obligations as a wife: "Reflect, that you are the daughter of respectable parents; do nothing to offend them. Obey and serve your husband, who has been given to you by Chinighchinigh. Be faithful to him, for, if you are not, you will not only lose your life, but we shall be disgraced; and, if your husband does not treat you as he ought, tell us and you shall come back and live with us." ¹

The matrimonial engagements were not considered indissoluble. The parties were at liberty to withdraw from them whenever it suited their convenience. The idea of a perpetual obligation did not enter their minds. Nor, indeed, are we to be at all astonished at this; seeing that even the advanced enlightenment of the present day approves the same, albeit the Lord hath said: "What God hath joined let no man put asunder."

Those acquainted with the history of Brazil, will remember a custom known to prevail in that country, by which, contrary to every law of nature and reason, the man, and not the woman, was supposed to suffer the pangs of parturition. In this, the Californians were alike remarkable, for on the delivery of the wife, the husband affecting an extraordinary weakness, lay stretched out in his cave, or under a tree, while the unfortunate woman was left to shift for herself, or to suffer by

(1) See *Boscana*.

the neglect.¹ The husband, too, suffered on his part, for custom obliged him to spend several days in this manner on the meagerest diet. They were prohibited leaving the place, except for water and fuel. The use of fish and flesh was not permitted them, while smoking and diversions of every kind were absolutely unallowed. One of the unhappy results of this ludicrous custom, or, more properly, unnatural neglect on the part of the father, both of the mother and her offspring, was the crime of infanticide, to obviate which it was customary with the missionaries to allow the newly-delivered mothers a double allowance of grain. As in the Jewish law, the widow married the brother or nearest relative of the deceased.

In addition to the festival referred to above, there was another of equal if not greater importance, which they celebrated with unusual mirth and rejoicing. This was what in southern Europe might be called the gathering of the vintage, but with the Californians that of the *pithahayas*, an indigenous fruit, on which they mainly relied for subsistence during the greater part of the year. The gathering lasted during the principal part of one quarter, and was to the people, in a great measure, what the carnival is to many in Europe. The population on those occasions, remarks Father Salva Tierra, threw aside whatever little reason they had, and gave themselves up entirely to feast-

(1) This custom was not confined to America. Diodorus Siculus speaks of a like observance which once prevailed in Europe.

ing, dancing, and buffoonery, to the great diversion of all the spectators. As regards their dances, the same Father tells us they had a great variety of them, and that they acquitted themselves with much gracefulness and agility. Even the children were brought to engage in these festive entertainments, and showed as much joy at having cleverly performed their part as the older members of the assembly.

The occasion of these festivals was generally whenever fortune smiled on their efforts, or Providence was indulgent in their regard. Hence, upon the occasion of success in the chase, victory in war, a plentiful harvest, or the birth of a child, they gave expression to feelings of joy in a dance. Connected with the festivals were feats and trials of strength, in leaping and running. In times of peace, the greater part of their lives was spent in that fashion; but these days of pleasure and enjoyment were often interrupted by wars, factions, and feuds, in which the whole people engaged. Nor was the object of their wars the desire of enlarging their fame or possessions, but more for the purpose of revenging affronts and defending hereditary rights in the matters of fishing, hunting, or the gathering of supplies. In the management of war, they were as unskilled as they were ignorant in the other departments of life. A frightful noise and clamor, in which all engaged, indicated the commencement of hostilities. Every one pre-

pared to take part in the engagement, provided himself with a bow and arrows, or a wooden spear, carefully sharpened on the top, and hardened in the fire. Firearms they had none. Their mode of attack was as unskillful as their ideas were rude; without regularly disposing their men, or posting them according to some principle of war, they rushed forward tumultuously, and engaged without any order, except, indeed, that one body was kept in reserve, to take the place of the most forward when the arrows should fail. While the engagement was conducted at a distance, the arrows were used; but, when a contest became close, the spears were brought into play. The numbers slain on these occasions were oftentimes considerable, so that in several instances almost entire tribes completely disappeared.

In the matter of religion and the external worship of the Deity, the observances of the inhabitants differed exceedingly in parts. On the arrival of the missionaries in Lower California no formal idolatry was found to exist. Neither altars, temples, groves or other appointed places of religion were anywhere to be met with in the country: But, though destitute of every outward profession of faith in the character of public and private addresses to the Deity, there existed among them certain traditional notions regarding the unity and trinity of God, the fall of the angels, the deluge,

and other articles of Christian belief, which must be a matter of surprise to the reader.¹

In Upper California, on the other hand, idol-worship was commonly practiced. There was hardly a village or rancheria where the God Chinighchinigh was not worshiped in the shape of a stuffed Coyote.² In matters of religious belief their notions, stripped of many extravagances, were remarkably correct as regarded the leading dogmas of biblical history. Almost identical with the Christian idea, they held that the creation of the world was the work of an invisible omnipotent Being, to whom some gave the name of Nocumo, and others Chinighchinigh. Having created the earth and all organic irrational existence, the Deity next formed man out of a handful of dust, and gave him the name of Ejoni. How the first woman came to be formed they were unable to say, but the name she received was A'é, a word, as the reader will note, not very unlike the Oriental "Hawa" and the English "Eve."

Others accounted for the creation of the world in a different fashion. According to them, previous to the existence of our globe, there were two others, one above and one below, which stood in the relation to each other of brother and sister.

(1) It would seem that on some of the islands off the coast idol-worship was practiced. Speaking of the island of St. Catherine, Torquemada, the Mexican historian, says: "In this island are several rancherias or communities, and in them a temple with a large level court where they perform sacrifices." (See *Torquemada's Hist. Mex.*)

(2) The Coyote is a wild animal, something like a fox.

In the superior world all was light, splendor and magnificence, and in the inferior all was darkness and gloom, there being neither sun, moon nor stars. In time both were united in marriage, the result of which was the present earth, with all its material and animal life, and finally man, who was called "Ouiot." What is especially deserving of notice in the tradition is, that the creation of the world and of all animal and inanimate existence, was not, according to the Indian belief, the result of a single, but of six different births in the manner referred to, and hence the coincidence between this and the Mosaic account as given in Genesis. The order of creation, too, according to them, is worthy of remark. First earth and sand, next rocks and stone, then trees, afterward grass, subsequently animals, and finally man.

Ouiot, who became a great and powerful leader, had a numerous family, though it is not stated whence he obtained his partner in life. He finally fell a victim to a conspiracy formed for his destruction by his people. After his obsequies were performed, the Lord of the Universe, or Chinigh-chinigh, appeared in the form of a spectre to his descendants, and gave them power over the elements and animal creation, enabling them at pleasure to procure for themselves and their families those objects necessary for their existence. Then, from the clay found on the borders of a certain lake, the omnipotent Being formed a man and wo-

man, and from these the Indians acknowledged themselves descended. Chinighchinigh at the same time gave them a command in the following words: "Him who obeyeth me not or believeth not my teachings, I will chastise: to him I will send bears to bite, serpents to sting, misfortune, infirmities and death." He further ordered them to erect a temple to his honor where they should worship him by prayer and sacrifice. The plan of the building he dictated himself.

It consisted of an oval enclosure a few yards in circumference, within which a rude structure, four or five feet in height, formed of stakes, branches and mats, was erected. Here, elevated on a species of hurdle, was the figure of Chinighchinigh. It was formed out of the skin of the coyote, or prairie wolf, carefully removed and prepared so as to represent the living animal. Within the sack was placed a great variety of feathers, horns, claws, beaks, etc., of those animals taken in the chase. Arrows, too, were placed in the body of the idol, whilst around its loins was a species of under garment such as was used by the captains and chiefs. The respect paid to this ludicrous object was of the most remarkable kind, the people being careful when in its presence not to commit the most trivial act of irreverence. They never undertook any work of importance, never engaged in war, hunting, or amusement of any kind, without first worshipping the idol. The worship itself was as singu-

lar as the figure was uncouth. It consisted of a species of silent adoration performed *puris naturalibus*. "When in his presence," writes Father Boscana, "the Indians were entirely naked and remained for hours in a posture equally awkward and fatiguing—a sort of squat, resting their heads generally upon their right hands, without moving during the ceremony of adoration."

On less solemn occasions the worship was of a different but, perhaps, more ridiculous kind. It had, however, at least the merit of being an inspiring mode of devotion. It was conducted in this fashion: A figure, not very artistic in its outline, having been formed in the presence of the image, all the men of the tribe, led by the Captain, ran in regular succession, till arriving at the spot where the leader uttered a hideous cry, bounded high into the air, an evolution in which he was followed by each in his turn. The females, on the other hand, moved slowly up to the figure, to which they offered their homage by bowing the head and presenting their bateas, or instruments required for the expedition on which they happened to be entering.

The privileges of the temple, or vanqueech, as it was styled in the vernacular, were in keeping with the respect and veneration paid it by the people. Like several Christian Churches in former times, it possessed the right of sanctuary. Whoever entered within its sacred precincts and sought its

protection, no matter what crime he may have been guilty of—whether theft, adultery or murder, was from that moment supposed to be free, and could appear among his own without any fear of the consequences of his crime. Should reference ever happen to be made to the act, the aggrieved would merely say: “You sought the protection of Chinighchinigh, which, if you had not done, we would have killed you; he will, however, chastise you one day for your wickedness.”

This immunity of crime was founded on the belief that the Deity would not suffer any one to be molested who sought his protection. It is proper to observe that the God, Chinighchinigh, who was known under the triple appellation of Saor, Quaguar and Tobet, was, according to their belief, a spirit and immortal, and yet underwent the penalty of death. Before leaving his people he instructed the leaders in everything requisite to be observed by his followers. When asked where he desired to be interred, his answer was to the effect that he would ascend into Heaven, where he would take an account of the actions of all, and reward and punish them accordingly. “When I die I shall ascend above the stars, where I shall always behold you; and to those who have kept my commandments I shall give all that they ask of me. But those who obey not my teachings, *nor believe them*, I shall punish severely. I will send unto them bears to bite, and serpents to sting: they shall be without

food, and have diseases that they may die.”¹ In short, Chinighchinigh, which is a synonym for omnipotence, was regarded by the Indians as an omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent being, the rewarder of good and the revenger of evil.

It is certain that this people had a very clear and unhesitating belief in the deluge. Their traditions and songs bear the most undeniable evidence of it. According to them, the sea at a time rose up from its bed in the deep, rolled in upon the land, and destroyed the entire human race, with the exception of a few who had betaken themselves to the summit of a lofty mountain where the waters were unable to reach them. The cause of the deluge they believed to have been the wickedness of Ouiot and his followers, upon whom Chinighchinigh took vengeance. The circumstances connected with it were embodied in their songs. Ouiot, who, as has been remarked, was a powerful chief, became so odious to his people on account of his tyranny and oppression, that they applied to Chinighchinigh, or the supreme one, for protection. He appearing to them in the form of a spirit, gave them power to destroy their oppressors by causing a general deluge. Addressing them, he said: “Do this, i. e., cause it to rain, and inundate the earth that *every living being may be destroyed.*”²

(1) *Boscana*, p. 256.

(2) See *Boscana*.

The tradition goes on to the effect that the rain fell, the rivers rose, the seas and oceans swelled and passed their limits, and rolling in upon the land, ceased not till they completely effected their purpose by destroying every living creature, except those capable of sustaining themselves in the waters, and the few of the human family that sought refuge on the top of the lofty mountain already referred to. Connected herewith was also the idea that such a calamity would never again befall the earth, for, when in moments of anger, the vindictive and revengeful were wont to solicit the destruction of their enemies in this fashion, they, on the other hand, were accustomed to express their belief in the pacific disposition of the Deity by saying: "We are not afraid, because Chinighchinigh does not wish, neither will he destroy the world *by another inundation.*"

Respecting the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul, there is no doubt but the inhabitants of Upper California had a confused—imperfect idea thereof. The former is clear, from the fact that once in the month, on the appearance of the new moon, all the rancherias assembled and danced as on a festive occasion, singing and shouting at the same time: "As the moon dieth and cometh to life again, so we also, having to die, *will live again;*" thereby expressing, I think, their belief in the resurrection of the body. Their belief in the immortality of the soul is inferred from

the fact that when, at their funeral obsequies, the body was burned. The heart, according to them, was never consumed, but went to a place destined for it by God. By the heart they evidently meant the spirit or soul, for which they had no word in their language, and, as their ideas were utterly gross and material, they pictured to themselves the joys of the world to come as those of an earthly paradise, something in the manner of the Valhalla of the Scandnavians, or the Behisth of the Mahometans, where they would be able to enjoy every sensual pleasure and gratification.

CHAPTER VII.

CALIFORNIAN PAGAN PRIESTS.—THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF MEDICINE.—
TREATMENT OF PATIENTS.—MODE OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD.—
INFLUENCE OF THE PRIESTS.—THEIR DECALOGUE.—TRADITIONS
APPARENTLY CHRISTIAN.—MEXICAN CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS.—THE
DELUGE.—THE CROSS.—MONASTIC ESTABLISHMENTS.—VIRGIN-
ITY.—FASTS.—BAPTISM.—CONFESSION.—EUCCHARISTS.—CRUCI-
FIXION.

As the reader has been informed, no formal idolatry was found to exist in Lower California, upon the arrival of the missionaries. At the same time, as I have said, they had certain traditional notions, which specially deserve the attention of the reader. I shall first speak of the religious teachers of the people, and then of the religion itself.

The Priests, or guides of the multitude, if they so deserve to be styled, belonged to one or other of two sects, called Tuparons and Niparons. They also went by the name of Dichianochos and Vamos, or Guamos. Their duty was to preside at festivals, to sing the praises of the deserving, to teach the children destined for the sacerdotal office, the meaning and use of certain figures, represented on little wooden tablets, which, they affirmed, the visiting spirits had bestowed upon them. They further exercised the medical faculty, and, as such, combined the triple character of priest, bard and physician. From the communications they

were supposed to hold with the spirits, their authority among the people was great; but they did not, according to the opinion of the missionaries, hold any communication with the evil spirits. Their imposture was entirely confined to impressing the people with the belief that success was to be acquired, and calamities averted, by liberality to them. The choicest of the fruits, and the best of the game, were supposed to be theirs; and, whenever a neglect of this duty was shown, it was visited with an invective, in which sickness, disasters and death were liberally threatened, as a consequence, on the unhappy delinquent.

Their supposed knowledge of the medical art, served to increase their reputation with the people. In this, the multitude only followed a natural instinct; for, in every instance, the hope of relief from painful distempers leads us to regard with respect and veneration the subject of our hopes. The remedies used were two-fold, and consisted of external appliances. The more common and efficacious, was the fumigation of the affected member, by means of a stone tube. With the view of dispelling the disease, or of sucking it out, the physician applied to the suffering member, a pipe or tube formed of hard, black stone. Through this he blew the smoke of the cinnamon or wild tobacco, which, it would appear, produced, in some instances, a beneficial effect. The simple process of blowing through the pipe, was also resorted to,

for it was thought, that by this means the disease was either dispersed or exhaled. The remedies used for external affections, such as tumors, swellings and sores, were fomentations, ointments and plasters of different herbs. Should the patient happen to be a child, its little finger was cut, and the blood suffered to drop on the part diseased.

In other parts of the country, the medical treatment, though somewhat the same, differed a little in detail. For all external, cutaneous diseases, the application of certain medicinal herbs, chiefly the sage, rosemary or nettle-plant, was the only prescription, while for internal disorders, fever, dysentery and the like, cold water baths were constantly resorted to. A good whipping with nettles, on the part affected, or the application of a goodly number of ants, was also regarded an excellent remedy!

The scientific principle on which the medical faculty acted was, that the various diseases under which the patients happened to suffer, were the result of the introduction of certain particles into the system. Before undertaking a cure, they were always sure to perform certain superstitious observances, after which, the entire body of the patient was carefully examined, when the unfailing result was certain to be arrived at—that some external object, some bit of stone, bone or other, had entered the body, and was the cause of the malady. The operation intended for removing this,

was then entered upon. It consisted in wrapping the patient in grass, feathers, horse or human hair, blowing at the same time toward the four cardinal points, and uttering certain mysterious sounds, accompanied with antic gestures. This done, the medical attendant applied his lips to the part affected, and pretended to suck out the cause of the disease; but, if this proved unavailing, he proceeded to the still more ludicrous extreme of attempting to pluck it out physically, by thrusting his fingers into the patient's mouth.

When every remedy had been exhausted, and the patient seemed beyond the hope of recovery, the friends and relatives gathered around, and gave expression to their sorrow, in the bitterest and most mournful lamentations. And should the sufferer happen to slumber, they immediately aroused him by beating him soundly on the head and the body, in order, as they thought, to keep him alive, though to others such a proceeding would seem rather calculated to produce a contrary result. The dead were either buried or burned, according to the particular locality in which they happened to live. In some parts, the fashion was to bury, in others, to burn; but, in both instances, all the effects of the deceased, whether bows and arrows, feathers, skins and the like, shared the same fate as himself, being either buried or burned, according to circumstances.

The authority of the Californian priest was es-

pecially noticeable on public occasions when a whole tribe or rancheria celebrated a festival. It is true the worship of God, or of deified mortals, did not enter into their festivals, for, as I have remarked, they had no formal manner of worship. Their gatherings partook entirely of social assemblies, wherein the people regaled and amused themselves by eating, drinking, dancing and buffoonery. The presence of the priest, however, habited in his sacerdotal appointments, gave them a solemn and imposing effect, and obtained for the Religious themselves a large share of public respect. The sacerdotal garments used on these occasions consisted of a cloak, a necklace, a mitre and a fan. The cloak, which somewhat resembled a cope, was made of human hair, and completely enveloped the figure from head to foot. The hair was ordinarily obtained as fees for medical attendance, as well as for the matriculation of students in the same act. Hawks, owls, or other bird's plumage constituted the material of which the mitre was composed, but when these could not be procured, tails, hoofs and horns of quadrupeds supplied their place. The necklace was not of the most costly or elegant material, being merely a string of deers' feet hung around the neck. These, together with a monstrous fan, and the inevitable stone tube for sucking the patients, constituted the whole paraphernalia of a Californian pagan priest.

The grotesqueness of their general appearance

was still further increased by daubing their faces and bodies with different colors. The reader can readily understand how such remarkable characters would be looked upon and revered by an utterly ignorant and barbarous race. The entertainment commenced by the priest smoking the chucuaco, or pipe. When partially intoxicated he began an oration accompanied with wild, extravagant gestures, on the greatness and importance of his tenets. The decalogue was not the same in every part, but in substance, as favoring themselves, it did not materially differ. Father Taraval, one of the first missionaries, has given the following as the code of one of this class:

1st. The people were not to eat of their first hunting or fishing, under pain of being disqualified from hunting or fishing in future.

2d. They were not to eat of certain fish.

3d. They should forbear eating particular parts of game—the fattest and best—for by doing so old age would immediately ensue. Thus the best pieces fell to the priest, but as they were advanced in years they had no reason to fear.

4th. The people should not gather certain fruits as belonging to the Hechiceros.

5th. If they caught a stag or fish of unusual size they should not use it, as it belonged to the priest, etc.

Thus it will be seen that they endeavored to enforce a system of tithes, nor, indeed, were their ef-

forts unavailing, for the people seemed to have strictly attended to their injunctions. While delivering their tenets they pretended to be inspired by the spirits, and even at times would have the people believe that they were the spirits themselves. At other times they pretended to have been in Heaven, and to have conversed with the Deity. To prove the truth of their assertions, they were wont to have recourse to the most ludicrous argument, producing a morsel of flesh which they affirmed they received from the Almighty, and by virtue of which they could, at their pleasure, deprive any of their hearers of life. The termination of these feasts was the most odious and shameful in the history of the world. The Roman Lupercal alone offers a parallel to the horrible depravity indulged in on the occasion. "Inflamed (says Father Venegas) by gluttony, intemperance and dancing, the whole concluded in the most abominable gratification of their appetites, all mingling indiscriminately, as if determined to violate every principle of shame, reason and modesty."

The religious convictions of the people next demand the attention of the reader. They were remarkable for several reasons. Like the people of Upper California, the Pericues, who inhabited the southern part of the peninsula, held the Christian doctrine respecting the existence of one supreme, omnipotent, omniscient being, the creator of

Heaven and earth and all things. This God, whom they called Niparaya, they believed to be a spirit having no body and therefore invisible. He had a spouse named Anayicoyondi, but though they never co-habited, he had by her three sons:—one, who was called Cuajup, or *True Man*, was born on earth in the mountains of Acaraqui, and lived a long time amongst men in order to instruct them. He was most powerful, had a great number of followers, having descended into the earth and brought them thence; but these ungrateful persons, despising his benefits, formed a conspiracy against him, put *a crown of thorns upon his head and slew him*. Though dead, his body still remains incorrupt and extremely beautiful; blood constantly flows from it, he does not speak, but he has a bird through which he communicates.

Their tradition regarding the fall of the angels was equally remarkable. There happened, according to them, in former time a tremendous battle between the celestial powers. A powerful personage, whom some called Tuparon but others Bac, or Wac, conspired with several companions against the Supreme Niparaya. In a battle which followed, Bac was overcome, driven out of Heaven, and confined, with his followers, in a cave under the earth. They further added, that all quarreling, fighting, and bloodshed were displeasing to Tuparon, but agreeable to Bac, for all who die under

such circumstances go to his kingdom, and become subject to his dominion. The primary consequence of this doctrine naturally led to two classes or sects among the people. The one siding with Niparaya were grave, circumspect and humane; while those who espoused the principles of Tuparon were false, deceitful, and bloodthirsty. With the former, the missionaries had little or no difficulty in prevailing upon them to accept the evangelical truths; but, with the latter, their labors were for years in a great measure unavailing.

The Guacuros, Laymones, Monqui, and others, who inhabited the midland and northern part of the peninsula, declared their belief in the great Spirit of Spirits whom they called *Guamongo*, and who they affirmed dwelt above. They had no word in their language properly to express Heaven. To Guamongo they attributed the existence of sickness, infirmities and death. He sent, they believed, in former times, another Spirit, named Gugiaqui, to visit the earth in his name, and to relieve the natural wants of man. This Spirit occupied himself during his mission upon earth in sowing the fruit trees, and in forming the bays and creeks along the coast. He was attended by inferior spirits, who supplied him with all the necessaries of life, in the shape of fish, fruits and berries, for, though a spirit, he was not exempt from the natural wants of man. During some time, while he remained in retirement in the Bay

of Loretto, he occupied himself in making garments for his priests. His mission accomplished, he returned to the north, whence he came, and ascended into Heaven ; but, before leaving the earth, he bequeathed as a memorial to his priests a painted tablet, which they used at their entertainments on festive occasions. The Guacurian Doctors also affirmed that the sun, moon and stars were not what they appeared, but human beings who shone in the firmament, and fell daily into the sea in the west, but swam out by the east.

The Cochimes, who were the most numerous and intelligent of all the aboriginal tribes, possessed a still more remarkable tradition than the preceding. They believed in the existence in Heaven of an omnipotent being, whose name in their language signified "*He who lives.*" He had, they affirmed, two sons begotten unto him, without any communication with woman. The first had two names, one of which implied *perfection*, and the other *velocity*. The title of the second was "He who maketh Lords." Although they gave the name of Lord indifferently to all three, when asked by the missionaries how many spirits there were, they answered "only one"—He who created heaven, earth and all things. Like the Pericues, the Cochimes had a remarkably clear and accurate idea of the fall of the angels. Their belief in this was quite in accordance with the divine, revealed doctrine of the Church. The Lord who liveth cre-

ated, they said, numerous spirits, who revolted against Him, and since then, are both His and our enemies. To these spirits they gave the very appropriate name of *liars or deceivers*. Their business was to be ever on the alert, so that when men departed this life they might seize them, take them to their own place of abode, and thus prevent them from ever seeing the "Lord who lives." There was also a tradition current among the more northern Cochimes, of a man, who, in former times, came from Heaven to benefit the human race; he was called "*Tamaambi ucambi tevivichi*," which signifies the Man from Heaven. They could not say what benefits he conferred on the human family, or if he had given them any form of religion or worship; yet, in honor of the event, they were accustomed to celebrate annually the *Feast of the Man from Heaven*. The festival was entirely devoid of every semblance of worship, and consisted merely, like their other national entertainments, in feasting, dancing and rejoicing. For some days previous, the women were occupied in gathering such fruits as the country afforded, in order to regale the Divinity upon his arrival. On the morning of the festival, a youth was secretly selected by the elders, and told how to perform his part. Having been painted with different colors, and dressed in various skins, he was privately conducted to a retired part of the mountains, where he lay concealed for some time. When the hour arrived for making

his appearance, he showed himself on the summit of one of the neighboring mountains, and, thence descending, ran rapidly, till he joined the assembly. After the feast, the youth returned the same way, and disappeared among the hills. A portion of the people, especially the females, were persuaded that their visitor was what he pretended to be—a veritable god. The Cochimes also celebrated annually another festival, of a somewhat kindred character. The departed, whom they supposed to inhabit the northern regions, came annually, according to their opinion, to pay them a visit. As in the former instance, the females were obliged to procure large quantities of supplies for the occasion. When the anniversary day had arrived, the male portion of the community, in company with the dead, who were supposed to have favored them with their presence, assembled and feasted on the provisions, while the women and children remained at a distance, weeping and lamenting the death of their friends and relatives.

The question will now occur to the reader, whence the ancient Californians obtained these doctrines, so like those of the Christian religion, and of which the above are only a sample. Before offering any opinion in solution hereof, it is only proper to observe, that these were only a part of a still larger body of, apparently Christian, traditions, held by many of the American races on the arrival of the Spaniards. In his work on the

missions, Charlevoix speaks of a tribe on the north Atlantic border, whose customs, religious traditions and observances led him to believe them the descendants of a once Christian community. In Mexico, Central and South America, the similarity was found to be still more striking. Like the Californians, the Aztecs or Mexicans believed in the existence of one supreme, omnipotent Being, the Creator of Heaven and earth. Their tradition respecting the great cataclysm, was to the effect that the entire human race, with the exception of two persons, Coxcox and his wife, were destroyed by the waters.¹ These were represented as having been saved by embarking in a little boat, which is represented in the hieroglyphical writings as floating on the surface of the waters.² The dove and the crow, had likewise their place in the traditions, the crow which, according to them, was an eagle, being said to have acted exactly as represented in Scripture.

But it was not merely of the Biblical facts of ancient history that the Spaniards found a record amongst the people, and of which, no doubt, a knowledge might have been had without an acquaintance with the Christian religion. They

(1) "They said that when mankind were overwhelmed with the deluge, none were preserved but a man called Coxcox, to whom others gave the name of Teocipactli, and a woman called Xochiquetzal, who saved themselves in a little bark, and having afterward got to land upon a mountain, called by them Colhuacan, had there a great many children." *Hist. Mex.*; Clavijero: vol. I., p. 244.

(2) *History of the Conquest of Mexico*: Prescott. Appendix, p. 379.

further encountered what seemed to them the most incontrovertible evidences of the former introduction of Christianity into the country. What first arrested their attention and led them to such a conclusion, was the existence and frequency of the cross which met them on all sides. Everywhere throughout the entire of the Mexican Empire this symbol of our holy religion was worshiped and adored by the people. It was raised in the villages, cut on the rocks, erected on the highways, and adored in the temples. "Hardly had the Spaniards," writes the learned Dr. Mier, "approached the continent of America in 1519, and disembarked in Cozumel, near to Yucatan, when they found several crosses within and without the temples, and in one of the court-yards was an especially large one, around which it was customary for the people to go in procession when asking favors of the God. This was an especial object of veneration to the people. Crosses were also found in Yucatan, even on the breasts of the dead in the sepulchres. Hence, it was that the Spaniards began to call that place New Spain." ¹

Veytia, another learned writer, speaking of the same period, also says: "Cortes found a great stone cross in a beautiful enclosure, which, from the most ancient times, was adored in Acuzamil or Cozumel, and Gomara affirms that that place was regarded as the common sanctuary of all the

(1) *Supplemento al Libro Tercero de la Conquista de Mexico, por P. Sahagun, p. 277.*

adjacent islands, and that there was no village without its cross of stone or other material. They also found crosses in Chollolan, in Tollan, in Texcoco, and other parts.”¹

Prescott, in his history of Mexico, affirms the same: “He (Fernando Cortes) was astonished also at the sight of large stone crosses, evidently objects of worship, which he met with in various places. Reminded by these circumstances of his own country, he gave the peninsula the name of New Spain, a name since appropriated to a much wider extent of territory.”²

There was even a temple, called the Temple of the Holy Cross, where that sacred emblem was worshiped, and what is especially deserving of attention is, that this was regarded by the people as the most ancient temple in the country.³

Not only in Cozumel, Yucatan and the neighboring provinces, but all through Mexico, in Brazil and Peru, the same remarkable phenomenon was observed. “They,” (the Spaniards) writes Prescott, “could not suppress their wonder as they beheld the cross, the sacred emblem of their own faith, raised as objects of worship in the temples of Anahuac. They met with it in various places, and the image of a cross may be seen at this day,

(1) *Historia Antigua de Mexico por El Lic. D. Mariano Veytia*: vol. 1, p. 167.

(2) *Hist. Conquest Mex.*: vol. 1, p. 225.

(3) “*Y esta es el primer templo de que hallo memoria en las historias de los Indios*”: Veytia, vol. 1, p. 203.

sculptured in bas-relief, on the walls of one of the buildings of Palenque, while a figure, bearing some resemblance to that of a child, is held up to it as if in adoration.”¹ For the fact of its being found in Brazil and Peru we shall see further on.

The existence of monastic establishments of men and women, where the inmates led a retired penitential life, did not fail, in like manner, to excite the surprise of the Europeans. Both in Mexico and Peru, such establishments were found. “I do not know,” (writes Joseph Acosta, in his *History of the Indies*) “that in Peru there are any proper houses for men, but for the priests and sorcerers, whereof there is an infinite number. But it seemeth that in Mexico the devil hath set a due observation; for, within the circuit of the great temple, there were two monasteries, as hath been said before, one of virgins, whereof I have spoken, the other of young men secluded, of eighteen or twenty years, whom they call Religious. They wear shaved crowns, as the Friars in these parts. * * * * All these had their superiors, who had the government over them. They lived so honestly, as when they came in public, where there were any women, they carried their heads very low, with their eyes to the ground, not daring to behold them. They had linen garments, and it was lawful for them to go into the city, four or six together, to ask alms.”² The same writer, in another

(1) *Prescoti's Hist. Mex.*

(2) *Lib. 5, chap. 16, p. 372.*

part of his work, says: "There were, in Peru, many monasteries of virgins—for there are no others admitted—at the least one in every province. * * * Every monastery had its superior, called Appapanaca." The same is vouched for by Clavijero, in his *History of Mexico*: "There were different orders of men and women, who dedicated themselves to the worship of some particular god. Some lived in community, others did not, but had a superior in the district, or part of the town where they lived; they used to assemble in a house at sunset, to dance and sing the praises of their god. The most celebrated order was that of Quetzalcohuatl. There were men and women of this order; they led a most rigid life; their dress was very decent; they bathed at midnight, watched until about two hours before day, singing hymns, etc."¹ Speaking of another order, a kind of monastic institution, devoted to the worship of the goddess Centcotl, which he takes to signify "Our Mother," the same writer says: "They lived in great retirement and austerity, and their life, excepting their superstition and vanity, was perfectly unimpeachable. None but men above sixty years of age, who were widowers, estranged from all commerce with women, and of virtuous life, were admitted into this monastery. Their number was fixed, and when any one died, another was received in his stead."²

(1) *History of Mexico*: Clavijero. Translated from the original Italian, by Charles Cullen. London, 1787. Vol. I., p. 277.

(2) Ibid.

The female Religious were equally remarkable for the purity and austerity of their lives. They took vows either for life or only for a time; and what is worthy of attention is, that upon entering into the service of religion, the first thing required of them was to part with their hair. “The first thing done to those who entered into the service on account of some private vow, was the cutting of their hair. Both the former and the latter (*i. e.*, those consecrated for ever and only for a time) lived in great purity of manners, *silence* and retirement, under their superiors, without having any communication with men. Some of them rose about two hours before midnight, others at midnight, and others at day-break, to stir up and keep the fire burning, and to offer incense to the idols; and, although in this function, they assembled with the priests, they were separated from each other, the men forming one wing and the women the other, both under the view of their superiors, who prevented any disorder from happening. Every morning they prepared the offering of provisions, which was presented to the idols, and swept the lower area of the temple; and the time which was not occupied in these or other religious duties, was employed in spinning and weaving beautiful cloths for the dress of the idols, and the decoration of the sanctuaries. Nothing was more zealously attended to than *the chastity of these virgins*.

Any trespass of this nature was unpardonable; if it remained an entire secret, the female culprit endeavored to appease the anger of the god, by fasting and austerity of life; for she dreaded that, in punishment of her crime, her flesh would rot."¹

The office of priesthood, though performed equally by the females and the males, was limited in the case of the former to the keeping of the temples, tending the fires, and offering incense to the idols; so that, in reality, they stood in relation to each other as the deaconesses of the primitive Church to the true ministers of religion.

Among their fasts, which were very numerous and in some instances lengthy, varying from three to one hundred and sixty days, and even to four years, there was one of *forty days*. On the authority of Torquemada, we learn that their ideas regarding the future state in the world to come, were in a great measure in harmony with the true doctrine of the Church.² But the most striking and remarkable of all their religious observances were those of which we are now about to speak. Everywhere throughout Mexico, in parts of Central and Southern America, a species of baptism, differing very little from that as administered in the Chris-

(1) *Hist. Mex.*, Clavijero: vol. I., p. 275-276.

(2) "Lo opinion, que estos Indios Occidentales tuvieran à cerca de las partes, y lugares donde las Animas iban despues de haver dejada sus cuerpos era en parte conforme à la verdad Catolica que professamos los que tenemos Fè cierta y verdadera de la Lei de Gesu Christo y en parte uni erada": *Torquemada*, lib. 13, cap. 48, p. 529.

tian religion was practiced by the people.¹ Father Ramesal assures us that when the first Spaniards arrived in Yucatan, they found commonly practised a sacred ablution which the people termed a "new birth," and by which they expected to arrive at the Kingdom of Heaven. Such importance did they attribute to this rite that it was rarely or never omitted. "They had such a devotion and reverence for it," says Veytia, "that no one failed to receive it. They thought that they received in it a new disposition to be good—the means of escaping damnation and of attaining everlasting glory."²

In the territories of Texcoco, Mejico, Tlacopan, and others, there were certain festivals, at which all the children were publicly baptized, but it was ordinarily the custom to baptize on the seventh day after the birth. What is further to be observed in this regard is, that it was sometimes administered by infusion and sometimes by immersion. It seems to have been performed twice in

(1) "Es Constante que en *todo este pais* se hallò establecida una especie de bautismo que aunque variaba en las ceremonias segun los lugares en lo sustancial conveian todos en este baño de agua natural, diciendo sobre el bautizado algunas formuelas, como preces y oraciones y poniendole nombre y esto observaban como rito de religion": Veytia, vol. 1, p. 181.

"No solo averiguaran ellos lo mismo que Montejo sino que los Indios se bautizaban todos sin falto dando al bautismo el nombre de renascencia como Tesucristo le llama en el Evangelio: *nisi quis renatus fuerit*, etc.: y que lo recibian con las mismas ceremonias de los Christianos hasta imponiendo el lienzo blanco, y con exorcismas, ayunando antes tres dias los padres y guardando continencia ocho dias despues, y confesandose los que eran grandecillos como en la primitiva Iglesia los catecumenos. Y todos usaban la confesion y otras muchas ceremonias de la Iglesia." (*Supplemento al Libro Tercero del P. Labagun*, p. 277.)

(2) Veytia's *Hist. Mex.*, p. 182.

the case of every infant:—first privately, immediately on the birth of the infant, and afterwards publicly in the presence of the friends and relatives. The latter was by far the more solemn. It was the midwife who officiated in both instances. The first ceremonial consisted in bathing the child, repeating at the same time the following prayer—a kind of invocation to Chalchinhcuego, the goddess of childbirth: “Receive the water, for the goddess Chalchinhcuego is thy mother. *May this bath cleanse the spots which thou bearest from the womb of thy mother, purify thy heart and give thee a good and perfect life.*” This was followed by another and more formal address to the same Deity, after which the midwife, or priestess, took up the water in her right hand, blew upon it, wet the head, mouth and breast of the child, bathed its entire body and continued: “May the invisible God descend upon this water and *cleanse thee from every sin and impurity*, and free thee from all evil fortune;” and then, turning to the child, she thus addressed it: “Lovely child, the gods Ometeuctli and Omecihuatl have created thee in the highest place in Heaven, in order to send thee into the world; but know that the life that thou art entering is sad, painful, and full of uneasiness and miseries; nor wilt thou be able *to eat thy bread without labor*. May God assist thee in the many adversities which await thee.” The parents were then congratulated on the birth of their child, and the

astrologers consulted regarding the time considered to be propitious for the second ablution. If the sixth or seventh days were not regarded as such it was deferred to a later date. Meantime, all the friends and relatives were invited to be present at the ceremonies, and to partake of the banquet to be given in honor of the occasion. On the day appointed, at a very early hour, before the sun had risen, the entire household and guests assembled in the court-yard, in the middle of which was placed a pitcher, or vase of water, intended for the ceremony. Having lighted a number of torches, the child was received by the midwife, who, after a certain ceremonial, such as turning her face to the west, blowing upon the water, etc., sprinkled the head of the child with the water, saying: "O, my child, take and receive the water of the Lord of the world, which is our life, and is given for the increasing and renewing of our bodies. It is to wash and purify. I pray that these heavenly drops may enter into your body, and dwell there; that they may destroy and remove from you all the evil *and sin which was given to you before the beginning of the world, since all of us are under its power, being all the children of Chalchivitlecue.*" ¹ The midwife next bathed the entire body of the child, uttering a kind of exorcism as she proceeded, in this fashion: "Where art thou, ill fortune? In what limb art thou hid? Go from

(1) *History of Mexico*. Clavigero, vol. 1, p. 317.

this child." And, according to Sahagun: "Whence-soever thou comest, thou art hurtful to this child; leave him and depart from him, for he now liveth anew, and is *born anew*; now is he purified and cleansed afresh, and our mother Chalchivitlycue again bringeth him into the world." ¹ This was followed by an invocation to the Deity in behalf of the infant: "O, Lord, thou seest here thy creature whom thou has sent into this world, this place of sorrow, suffering and penitence. Grant him, O Lord, thy gifts and thy inspirations, for thou art the great God, and with thee is the great goddess."

Were we to stop here, and to compare the manifest analogy that exists between these religious customs and observances, and those of the Catholic Church, the suspicion would necessarily force itself on our mind as to their origin and identity. There is no impartial inquirer that must not see in the worship of the cross, in the existence of monastic establishments and the administration of a baptism, such as we have spoken of, a strong similarity with kindred observances of our holy religion. Indeed, on any other hypothesis, save that of the preaching of the Christian religion in the country, it would be difficult to account on satisfactory grounds for the existence of such practices amongst Pagans; for who but an

(1) *Historia de Nueva España Sahagun*, lib. 6, cap. 37. *Hist. Conquest of Mexico*: Prescott, vol. 3, p. 385.

Apostle would have taught them to reverence the symbol of the Christian religion; who but a preacher of truth would have taught them to practice that most difficult virtue for man—continence; who, in fine, would have taught them the necessity and efficacy of that baptism or ablution which they administered, and by which they hoped to attain life everlasting? And the suspicion thus created in the mind as to the origin of these practices is further increased and confirmed by the other religious observances found to exist in the country.

On the first arrival of the Spaniards, auricular confession was found to be practiced by the people. There can be no doubt about the existence of this practice in the country. All the Spanish historians, Sahagun, Torquemada, Garcia and others, speak of it as a certainty. Herrera assures us it was practiced at Nicaragua, in Central America. Joseph Acosta tells us it prevailed in Peru; and Veytia, than whom few are more reliable and trustworthy in matters of history, speaks of it as being in use in the Mexican dominions.¹ The obligation of secrecy was attached to the rite, and any violation of trust on the part of the confessor, was visited with the severest penalties. The pen-

(1) "They confessed themselves almost verbally in almost all the Provinces, and had confessors appointed by their superiors to that end, *there were some sins reserved for the superiors.*" (*Hist. of the Indies: Acosta. Book 5, chap. 25, p. 398.*)

(1) "No es menos notable la costumbre que hallaron establecida de confesarse con los sacerdotes, declarandoles aquellas cosas que tenian por culpas, y aceptando la penitencia que les imponian:" (*Veytia Hist. Mex.*)

ances administered were often very severe, especially when the offender was poor, and had nothing to pay. Attempts to conceal anything in confession was looked upon as a most heinous offence. They confessed only their deeds and not their thoughts, thereby leading us to conclude that they ranked only the former in the category of sins. The Confessors, or Ychuri, as the Peruvian Religious were called, were supposed to be able to know whether the penitent was making an honest confession or not. In the latter case, they beat him on the shoulders with a stone, till he made a full acknowledgment of all his misdeeds. Besides ordinary times, they always confessed when afflicted by any calamity. Thus, when any member of the family happened to fall sick, the entire household confessed; and, in like manner, the entire province, when the Ingua or Monarch became ill; but he never confessed, except to the Sun.¹

Prescott asserts the same: "The great cities were divided into districts, placed under the charge of a sort of parochial clergy, who regulated every act of religion within their precincts. It is remarkable that they administered the rites of *confession and absolution*. The secrets of the confessional were held inviolable; and penances were imposed of much the same kind as those enjoined in the Roman Catholic Churches."

(1) The custom in Mexico was different, for there they confessed only once in their lives.

The address made by the priests to the Deity and penitent respectively on these occasions, the penances enjoined, and the form of absolution employed, were very remarkable, and bore a striking analogy to those of our holy religion. The confession, it is proper to remark, was made only once in one's life by the Mexicans; for, according to them, a relapse into sin was inexpiable. Hence, they ordinarily deferred unburdening themselves to their confessors till the moment of death. The belief respecting the efficacy of the rite was very remarkable. By it, they deemed themselves freed from their sins, and rendered agreeable to God; but only, if we are to judge from the words of the priest, on the condition of being contrite of heart, and determined not to relapse into sin for the future. The pardon conveyed to them by the ministers of religion, it is also proper to remark, they regarded as only a delegated act, the power of forgiving sin being, according to them, proper to the Deity. "They said that they had also the power to pardon them, and to purify them from their sins, *if they confessed them to their priests.*"

Before hearing the confession, the priest made the following address to the Deity: "O Lord, Thou who art the parent and most ancient of all the gods, behold this Thy servant, who presenteth himself here before Thee in affliction, with much sorrow and great grief, for having erred and been guilty of crimes worthy of death, for which he is

greatly grieved and afflicted. Most Merciful Lord, who art the accepter and defender of all—receive the repentance of this Thy creature and servant.”

Then turning to the penitent, he addressed him thus: “My son, thou hast come into the presence of the most merciful and beneficent God: thou hast come to declare thy hidden sins and crimes: thou hast come to open to Him the secrets of thy heart. * * * Lay open all without shame in presence of Our Lord, who is called *Yoallichectla*, that is *Tezcatlipoca*. It is certain thou art in His presence, although thou art unworthy to see Him, although He doth not speak to thee; for He is invisible and not palpable. Take care, then, how thou comest, what kind of heart thou bringest; do not hesitate to publish thy secret sins in His presence, recount thy life, relate thy works in the same manner as thou hast committed thy excesses and offences. Lay open thy maladies in His presence, and manifest them *with contrition* to Our Lord God, who is the accepter of all, and who, with open arms, is ready to embrace thee, and to receive thy confession. Take care thou dost not conceal anything through shame or heedlessness.” The penitent then solemnly promised to declare the truth; after which he proceeded to the confession of his sins. This done, the priest imposed on him the penance to be performed, and imparted to him the absolution, which was in the deprecatory form, as in the Greek Church. The prayer, which was

very long, begun thus: "Oh, Most Merciful Lord, protector and defender of all, Thou hast heard the confession of this poor sinner. * * * O Lord, Thou who knowest all things, dost know that he has not sinned with entire freedom of his will, but from the influence of the sign under which he was born. * * * Then, Most Merciful Lord, graciously pardon him, cleanse him and grant him *the pardon, forgiveness and remission of all his sins*, etc."¹

To the foregoing we will add an account of one more most ancient and remarkable custom—indeed, the most remarkable of all. I allude to the feast in honor of the god Huitzilpochtli, wherein a ceremony was gone through and an offering made, which remind us very forcibly of the sacrifice of the Mass and the Holy Communion. That the reader may not accuse us of a too hasty and unwarrantable conclusion, we give the account as related by the Spanish historians: "Nothing is better known," says Veytia, "than the offerings they made of *bread and wine*, that is, bread of unleavened corn, for they had no wheat, and that beverage which they used for wine. The Mexicans celebrated a solemn feast in honor of Centcotl, the god of corn, which was their food, and they did this by forming the body of this god in a human shape from a lump of unleavened corn paste, in which they mixed some herbs. Having baked it on the day of the feast, they took it in procession,

(1) Vide Sahagun *Historia General de Nueva Espagna*, p. 12-13.

with great solemnity, and around it they placed a great quantity of small particles of the same composition, which the priests, having blessed with certain formularies and ceremonies, they believed that it was changed into *the flesh of that god*. The feast or ceremony being concluded, the priest distributed all that bread to the people, in small particles. All, big and little, men and women, rich and poor, eat of it, receiving it with great reverence, humility and tears, saying that they eat the flesh of their God; they also took it to the sick as a remedy. They fasted for four days previous, and considered it a great sin to eat or drink anything after having partaken of that bread until after mid-day. They even concealed the water from the children lest they might drink. This was the most solemn feast that they celebrated; at the end of it one of the elders delivered a kind of sermon in explanation of the ceremonies.”¹

Dr. Mier is equally explicit on this point. “At the same time exactly,” says Father Sahagun, “that we celebrate the Pasque the Mexicans celebrated theirs after a fast of forty days, during which they abstained from flesh, wine and the use of matrimony. A public penance preceded the celebration of the Pasque. The reader will remember that public penitents were formerly reconciled to the Church at that time. Immediately water

(1) *Hist. Antig Mex.*: Veytia, vol. 1, p. 187-188. Vide etiam Sahagun XXI.

was solemnly blessed, as we Catholics are yet accustomed to do on holy Saturday—when solemn baptism was formerly administered. Then they made from seeds the statue of their god *Huitzilpochtli*, (not of any other), which, according to Torquemada, had to be made in the *Chapel of the Lord of the crown of thorns*, whence they took it, accompanied by music, to the principal altar, watching all night as the ancient Christians. All the village then arrived to make its offering, after which the priests came and consecrated the statue. And Torquemada takes notice that they made use of for this purpose certain words of consecration, and that from that moment they regarded it as the very flesh and bones of the god Huitzilpochtli. It was then taken in procession, at the conclusion of which the priest, who presided over the ceremonies, and who necessarily represented Quetzalcohuatl, pierced the heart of the statue with the point of a spear—an operation they termed killing their god, in order to eat him. That was the signal for dividing it, four deacons taking from it to the parishes of the four divisions of the city, in order to give communion to the people, which they called *teocualo*, or eating God, and the Totonacas, *toyoliayatlacuatli*, or eating *our life*, and they received it with much devotion, compunction and tears, taking care that not a crumb should fall on the ground, and they had to be fasting, so that on that day they hid the wa-

ter, through the whole country, from the *children, who also communicated.*"¹

In fine, there was another great festival, on which they sacrificed one of their number, by attaching him to a large wooden cross, and piercing him with arrows.²

To what we are to attribute the origin of these customs, whence they were derived, and how far they may have connection with the Christian religion, we shall investigate in the subsequent chapter.

(1) Vide *Sahagun*, vol. 1, Suplemento.

(2) *Hist. Antig. Mex.* Veytia, vol. I., p. 155.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROBABLE SOURCES WHENCE THE TRADITIONS WERE DERIVED. — LORD KINGSBOROUGH'S OPINION. — ADAIR'S OPINION. — PROBABILITY OF ST. THOMAS HAVING PREACHED IN THE COUNTRY. — TRADITIONS TO THIS EFFECT. — THE WHITE MAN WHO ONCE PPEACHED IN THE COUNTRY. — BELIEF IN A WHITE RACE TO COME. — QUETZALCOHUATL IDENTICAL WITH ST. THOMAS.

FROM the instances adduced in the preceding chapter, and others of a like nature, many have been led to conclude that a communication must have existed between the Old and the New World, before the time of Columbus. Others, more imaginative, as Kingsborough, and Adair, have flattered themselves with having found a satisfactory explanation for all the Mexican and Peruvian customs and traditions, by supposing the aborigines descended from the Jews. A third, and by no means the most unreasonable class, would have us account for the difficulty, by referring it to the natural constitution of man, in accordance with which, while seeking to supply a craving of his soul, he may have been led to the adoption of such practices. Although it must be acknowledged that this is not entirely devoid of foundation, for history informs us of peoples on whom it would be difficult to show the light of Christianity had ever been shed, having largely adopted customs and

observances of a similar character;¹ yet, taking all the circumstances and co-incidents into account, and especially the traditions of the peoples themselves, respecting their origin, of which we shall presently speak, the conviction grows strong on the mind, and, indeed, seems to us a most probable opinion, that these doctrines, customs and observances were Christian in their origin. They were, we believe, the result of the teaching of one of the Apostles of our Blessed Redeemer, who, in the discharge of his ministry, visited these shores. The arguments in support of this theory, we shall presently adduce, after laying before the reader the opinions of Catholic writers respecting the probable origin of the ancient Californian traditions and customs.

In the natural and civil history of the country, written by Venegas, to which we have already referred, three opinions are given in explanation of these doctrines and practices. The first is, that the inhabitants were the descendants of a Christian people, among whom the true doctrine and practices of religion had become entirely disfigured and all but extinct. Secondly, that they were learned from the Christians who landed on the coast in the interval between the discovery of the country in 1536 and the arrival of the Fathers in

(1) For the worship of the Cross among the Egyptians, see *Lipsius de Cruce Lutetæ Parisiorum*.—*Humboldt Geographie du Nouveau Continent*. For Penances and Monastic Establishments, see *Huc and Gabet's Travels*.—*Humboldt Vues des Cordilleres*, etc. * * *

1683. And lastly, there are those who attribute their origin to some western mariners who, happening to be thrown on the coast, were necessitated to live in the country.

According to the first, the Californians had migrated from the north and entered the continent by Asia. This, they maintain, is borne out by the traditions of the people themselves; who, as has been remarked, constantly affirmed that they had come from the north and found the country inhabited before them. To the second opinion, which derives the faith and traditions of the people from the presence of Europeans within the interval spoken of, there is the most serious objection, for the natives in all cases uniformly affirmed to the Fathers that these doctrines had been transmitted to them from time immemorial. Nor, indeed, is it at all probable that doctrine of such a nature would come to be commonly adopted in that manner, and so form a part of the traditional belief of the people.

The third, and most plausible, of the assertions, though merely a conjecture like the others, that at a period, now entirely unknown, some Christians, happening to be wrecked on the coast, endeavored to instill into the minds of the natives ideas of the Christian religion, is not entirely undeserving of attention. But, as the reader will observe, it is also like the preceding, open to

doubt, being merely conjectural and entirely unsupported by any common or local tradition.

What we require to determine is, not the time or the manner such doctrines may have been introduced into the country, but whether in reality they were Christian in their origin, and how they came to be accepted by the people. As I have stated, it is my conviction they were the result of the teaching of one of the Apostles of Our Blessed Redeemer.

Reasoning on general grounds, the probabilities are in favor of this. It is more in harmony with our idea of the mercy of God and the end of the Christian religion, to suppose that the means of salvation were offered to all from the beginning rather than after the lapse of several hundred years. Christ's coming upon earth was to be a principle of life to all, without limitation of time or place. No valid satisfactory reason has ever been offered why, for fifteen hundred years, the saving truths of religion should have been withheld from so many millions of the human race. Those who have supported the contrary opinion have done so unwillingly, and more from an unacquaintance with the popular traditions of this country than from any satisfactory reasoning of their own.

The various passages of Scripture, wherein reference is made to the preaching of the gospel, favor the same. The Evangelists, Mathew, Mark and Luke, speak of the announcement of the divine

word to the world at large as a work to be accomplished apparently by the Apostles *propria persona*. To this end, before separating at Jerusalem on their important commission, they divided the world between them. It was not to one nation or race that the work of their ministry obliged them. They had a duty to perform to the illiterate as well as the learned; to the distant as well as the near; to the savage as well as the civilized. The announcement that the Son of God had come on earth as the Redeemer of Mankind had to be made even unto the ends of the earth. And in the division thus made of the world by the Apostles, who will be ready to say that they excluded from the field of their labors the one third of the globe? Did he who commissioned them to preach the gospel "to every creature," leave them ignorant of the existence of this part of the world, or unfurnished with means to arrive on these shores? Had not the poor American savages a share in the scheme of redemption as well as the Greeks and the Romans? Was not their salvation as dear to the Saviour as that of the other inhabitants of the earth?

Again, it is the opinion of some of the most eminent doctors of the Church that the commission of the Saviour to the Apostles, "Go teach all nations," etc., was understood by them in a general, and not a particular sense, as regarded their own immediate ministry. The words of the Saviour on

Other occasions certainly favor this. Answering the Apostles touching the question as to when he would restore the kingdom of Israel, he said: "It is not for you to know the time or moment which the Father hath put in his own power. But you shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, *and even to the uttermost parts of the earth.*"¹ And in St. Luke: "Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer and to rise again from the dead the third day. And that penance and the remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. *And you are witnesses of these things.*"² In the latter half of the first quoted passage from the Acts of the Apostles there can be no doubt but Christ is speaking of the Apostles themselves, and not of their successors, when he says, "You shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem and all Judea and Samaria." And then, continuing the prediction, he says, "and even unto the uttermost parts of the earth." So that the same persons that were to be witnesses to him in Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria, were also to be witnesses to him in the most distant parts of the world.

The same is implied in the other quotations. Penance and the remission of sins were to be

(1) *Acts*: chap. 1, v. 7-8.

(2) *St. Luke*: chap. xxiv, v. 46-48.

preached to all the nations of the earth in the name of the Saviour, and the Apostles were to be the witnesses thereof. No doubt their successors in the ministry were also to be witnesses of the truth, but by pre-eminence and in a particular manner were the Apostles to be such, for they, and not any others, had the privilege of witnessing the miracles of the Redeemer, of hearing the doctrine from his lips and of receiving their commission from his hand. They, in consequence, were more admirably suited in their individual capacity for witnessing to the divinity of the Saviour and the truth of his doctrine, the more especially still as they were endowed with the gift of tongues and the power of miracles.

It was not surely of the successors in the ministry, but of the Apostles themselves, that St. Mark wrote when he said: "But they going forth preached *everywhere*, the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed." ¹ The word "*everywhere*," I admit, is not to be taken in its rigorous sense; but how, even morally speaking, the gospel could be said to have been everywhere preached, while the entire of the New World—the two continents of America—were excluded, is, indeed, not easy to be seen.

It is a principle admitted by all in the interpretation of Scripture, that the literal and obvious meaning is to be taken in preference to every

(1) *St. Mark*: chap. xvi., v. 20.

other, unless the tenor of the context or the opposition to other scriptural passages calls for another. But, in the instance before us, so far from this being the case, it is more in accordance with the spirit of religion, more in keeping apparently with the goodness of God, and the general tenor of Scripture.

The passage on which some have founded a contrary opinion is the fourteenth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of the gospel of St. Mathew: "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony to all nations, and then shall the consummation come."¹ The consummation here spoken of they take to indicate the end of time and the destruction of this world; but St. John Chrysostom, Enthimius and Theophylactus interpret it as only having reference to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, before which time they maintain that the faith was preached *to every nation*.

The Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans and the Colossians also favor our theory. Speaking of the Law of Christ and the necessity for all of submitting to it, the Apostle quotes the words of the Psalmist: "Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the whole world." It is true the Psalmist's words are generally interpreted in a mystical sense, as referring to the celestial powers, but the applications St.

(1) *St. Mathew*: chap. 24, v. 14.

Paul intends to make of them is manifestly in relation to the preaching of the gospel as done by the Apostles. For, in the previous verses, he had said: "For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? Or how shall they believe him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? * * * Faith then cometh by hearing: and hearing by the word of Christ. But I say, have they not heard? Yea, verily, their sound hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the whole world." ¹ The reader will here observe that the Apostle is speaking of the Law as in Christ, and the necessity for all without any distinction of embracing the same. And, as if any one might excuse himself on the plea of not having heard it, for faith cometh by hearing, the sacred writer meets the objection by affirming that the world at large had heard of the gospel: "But, I say, have they not heard?" Yea, verily, "their sound (*i. e.* the preaching of the Apostles) hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the whole world." How an Apostle of Christ, a man inspired by God, could solemnly aver that the preaching of the gospel had been made known to the entire human race, that it had reached the ends of the earth, whereas in reality it had not been made known

(1) *St. Paul to the Romans* : chap. x., v. 13-18.

beyond the limits of the Old World, is a difficulty we leave for solution to those who deny the preaching of the gospel in this country from the beginning.

Equally strong, if not even more satisfactory still, are the words of the same Apostle addressed to the Colossians: "Yet now he hath reconciled in the body of his flesh through death, to present you holy and unspotted and blameless before him. If so ye continue in the faith grounded and settled and immovable from the hope of the gospel which you have heard, *which is preached in all creation that is under Heaven.*"¹ And to the Romans: "I give thanks to my God through Jesus Christ for you all, because your faith is spoken of *in the whole world.*" Words could not express more emphatically than these the universality of the preaching of the religion of Christ by the Apostles. If they are not to be taken in their literal, obvious sense, some satisfactory reason should be assigned for making the change. But in vain do we look for any such reason, the only assignable pretext being the absence of any historic account, or the difficulty of the Apostles reaching the shores of the Pacific, as if the words of the Evangelists and of the Apostles were only to be taken as expressing a truth when supported by the authority of secular history, or, as if the difficulty of communicating with the distant nations of the earth

(1) *Colossians* : chap. 1, v. 23.

was to be a barrier to the Lord in the communication of his gospel to the whole world!

Judging, then, in accordance with our ideas of the infinite mercy and goodness of God who ordained the Christian religion to be a principle of life and salvation to all, in accordance with the general tenor and apparently obvious meaning of Scripture, expressed as well in the charge of the Saviour to the Apostles, as in the attestation of the Apostles themselves, it seems to us a most reasonable and probable opinion that the Christian religion was preached throughout the whole world, America included, from the earliest times.

The direct evidence bearing upon the subject, also leads us to the same conclusion. In the Mexican hieroglyphical writings, there is recorded an account of a great solar eclipse, and a terrible earthquake, which, as we shall presently show, could be no other than those which occurred at the death of the Redeemer. The occurrences are represented as having taken place at the end of the year, at mid-day, there being then full moon. The entire solar body was completely hidden from view, and the darkness became such that the stars were visible, and the day turned into night. At the same time, a terrible earthquake, such as never was experienced before, shook the entire country, rending large masses of rock in twain, and forming many openings in the land. According to the native historians, these occurrences happened one

hundred and sixty-six years after the correction of their calendar, which would place the event in the year of the world 4066. The chronology of the globe, as is well known; differs exceedingly, as given by different writers. I do not speak of the order, as stated by Berosus, Sanconiathan, Zoroaster, and others of that class; but, even among Christians, the world's chronology varies between three thousand and some hundred years and six thousand and some hundred.¹ That given by Hauberto and Suarez differs very little from the Mexican; so that, without doing any violence to the case, we have, in this agreement of the most eminent Catholic writers, a proof that the eclipse and earthquake noticed in the Mexican symbolical writings, were those which occurred at the death of the Saviour.

Some years after these remarkable occurrences, which, according to the statement of the native historians, would appear to be the sixty-third year of the present era, there came, from the north, a celebrated personage—certainly the most remarkable in the whole of Mexican mythology. He is represented as a *white man*, with flowing beard, of

(1) There are more than one hundred and fifty different opinions regarding the chronology of the world from the creation to the coming of Christ. They vary between 3,616 years and 6,484. The principal are these, according to the Vulgate: Usserius, 4004; Rabbi Nahasson, 3740; Scaliger, 3950; P. Petau, 3984; P. Tormel, 4052; Riccioli, 4184; P. Labbe, 4053. According to the Septuagint: Eusellus and the Roman Martyrology, 5200; Vossius, 5590; Riccioli, 3634; The author of the Alphonsian Fables, 6984. (See *Encyclopedie Catholique*, Tome Septieme, p. 672.)

a good stature, clad in a long white robe, adorned with red crosses, barefoot, his head uncovered, and a staff in his hand.¹ He was Quetzalcohuatl, the true signification of which we shall afterwards state. The universal tradition regarding him is, that he was a holy and venerable man—that he taught the people admirable laws—the suppression of their unnatural lusts and desires, the hatred of vice and the love of virtue. To him the popular traditions ascribe the worship paid to the Cross, the continency observed by the Religious, the annual fast of forty days, the practice of confession, and, in a word, all the customs and observances found, on the arrival of the Spaniards, to bear a coincidence with those of the Christian religion. “In the adoration of one only God,” says the author of the *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, “he enlightened those nations in the knowledge of the most adorable Trinity, the coming of the Son of God into the world, his birth from a virgin, and his death upon the cross—whose powerful sign he caused them to reverence, inspiring them with a great hope of obtaining by its means an universal remedy for all their evils.”

It is true that several Catholic writers, even of those who had the best means of forming an accurate judgment, have formed an entirely different opinion of this remarkable personage, setting him down as an imposter, a magician, a necromancer.²

(1) See *Torquemada*.

(2) See *Torquemada*.

And it appears that they had been led into this from the fact that his name is intimately associated with several idolatrous customs and practices, as if, amid so much corruption, it were possible to preserve his doctrine intact. If he were such as these writers represent him to be, there certainly is no satisfactory way of accounting for the doctrine and usages that he is credited with having originated. It is also to be borne in mind, as has been already remarked, that these traditions and religious observances were not confined to any particular locality, but were widely diffused through the whole of that part of the two American continents where his name has been known, and where he is said to have traveled. Thus Father Joaquin Brulio tells us of a remarkable wooden cross in Peru, which had been worshiped by the people from time immemorial, and supposed to have been erected by this venerable man. Speaking of this cross, Father Garcia says, that when Drake, the English commander of whom we have spoken before, arrived on the coast, he endeavored to destroy it, but was unable. Three several times he cast it into the fire, and three times it came forth entirely uninjured by the flames.¹ He then endeavored to break it into pieces, but in this he was

(1) Allegre says that Candish, and not Drake, was the person who attempted to break it. Of the cross, itself, he says, "The cross is said to be of an extremely heavy wood, and different from anything to be found in the province." (See *Historia de la Compania de Jesus Nueva Espana*: Allegre, vol. 1, p. 103.)

alike unsuccessful. It was afterwards translated to the city of Guaxara, by Bishop Cervantes, and was there venerated, by the Christian inhabitants, up to 1836, the latest date of which we have any account. A smaller cross was made from one of the arms, and placed in a chapel of the Discalced Carmelites of the town.

The Right Rev. Dr. Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, having instituted an inquiry into its origin, tells us that the tradition of the inhabitants regarding it was, that it was erected in that place by a venerable white man, with a long beard, flowing white robes, and accompanied by several companions. They further affirmed that he was the man who had instructed their ancestors in those doctrines and practices, which were found to resemble those of the Christian religion; and had commanded, that when a race would arrive in the country, which would venerate that symbol, they should accept their religion. By the Mexican historians it is stated that he himself promised to return with his followers; but this is immaterial, the principal part of the tradition being, that his followers, or descendants, *white men*, would one day come into the country, and reverence the cross. What confirmed the people in the truth of his prediction regarding the coming of the whites, was the prophecy he made regarding the fall of the temple of Chollolan, which, in reality, is stated by the native historians to have occurred eight days after he left; the ruins

of which remained till the time of the Spaniards, as an evidence of the fulfillment of his words.¹ It would further seem certain that he had given as an indication of the immediate arrival of his followers—the occurrence of certain marvelous events—for, on the authority of Prescott, we know, that in consequence of certain remarkable occurrences, which happened shortly before the arrival of Cortes, a wide-spread belief existed through the whole of the Mexican Empire, that the hour had arrived when the followers of Quetzalcohuatl would arrive in the country. “He (Quetzalcohuatl) promised, on his departure, to return at some future day with his posterity, and resume the possession of the empire. That day was looked forward to with hope or with apprehension, according to the interest of the believer, but with general confidence, throughout the wide borders of Anahuac. Even after the Conquest, it still lingered among the Indian races, by whom it was as fondly cherished, as the advent of their king, St. Sebastian, continued to be by the Portuguese, or that of the Messiah by the Jews.”

A general feeling seems to have prevailed in the time of Montezuma, that the period of the return of the Deity, and *full accomplishment* of his promise, was near at hand. This conviction is said to have gained ground from various preternatural occurrences, reported with more or less detail, *by all the*

(1) See Veytia, *Hist. Antiq. Mex.*

*most ancient historians.*¹ In 1510, the great lake of Tezcuco, without the occurrence of a tempest or earthquake, or any other visible cause, became violently agitated, overflowed its banks, and, pouring into the streets of Mexico, swept off many of the buildings by the fury of the waters. In 1511, one of the turrets of the great temple took fire, equally without any apparent cause, and continued to burn, in defiance of all attempts to extinguish it. In the following year, three comets were seen; and, not long before the coming of the Spaniards, a strange light broke forth in the east. It spread broad at its base on the horizon, and, rising in a pyramidal form, tapered off as it approached the zenith. It resembled a vast sheet or flood of fire, emitting sparkles, or, as an old writer expresses it, seemed "thickly powdered with stars." At the same time, low voices were heard in the air, and doleful wailings, as if to announce some strange, mysterious calamity! The Aztec monarch, terrified at the apparitions in the heavens, took counsel of Nezahualpili, who was a great proficient in the subtle science of astrology. But the royal sage cast a deeper cloud over his spirit, by reading in those prodigies the speedy downfall of the empire."²

It is then undeniably certain that a popular tra-

(1) Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, M. S., lib. 3, chap. 120; Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*, M. S.; Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva Espagna*; Acosta, Herrera, etc.

(2) *Hist. Conquest Mex.* Prescott, vol. I, p. 313;

dition existed in the minds of the people, to the effect that a venerable white man once visited the country, taught those doctrines and customs of which we have spoken, and promised one day to return with his followers. It further seems evident, from the local traditions, that this man, whoever he may have been, passed through California, Mexico, Central and a part of Southern America.

Speaking of the traditions of Central America, in the province of Yucatan, Bishop Las Casas assures us that the natives had an idea of the principal mysteries of religion, and that these doctrines had been taught them by the person of whom we are writing. A very intelligent Indian, he says, having been questioned as to the doctrine of the people, answered, that they believed in one God and three persons. To the first, whom they called Igona, was attributed the creation of all things; Bacab, the second, who was the son of Igona, was born of a virgin, *Chibirias, who is now with God in Heaven*; while the third was Echuah. The circumstances connected with the life of the second, are, in their general outline, a counterpart of those as taught by the Church regarding the Redeemer. Respecting the latter part of his life the tradition was to the effect that he was made to suffer exceedingly—was cruelly scourged, crowned with thorns, put to death upon a cross, buried, rose again, and ascended to his father in Heaven. Then came Echuah, to fulfill or accom-

plish all that was to be done. This doctrine, they affirmed, had come down to them from the remotest ages, and had been taught them by men who arrived there, to the number of twenty, the principal of whom was Colalcan, a venerable man, with flowing beard, white robes and sandals, and who taught them to fast and confess, etc.¹ These, and the religious customs and practices of which we have spoken before, such as baptism, penances, mortifications, continency, conventual life, and especially the great feast resembling the Eucharist, are all supposed to have been introduced and established by him.

That these doctrines and practices were not the result of the teaching of an impostor, a magician or necromancer, we can readily believe; for what object could such have in view. But, that such doctrines did exist, is a fact beyond all doubt, resting on the authority of innumerable writers, who, although they may have been deceived regarding the conclusions to be derived, could not be deceived as regarded the traditions themselves. It is then a clear and indisputable fact, that there existed in Central, Southern, and parts of Northern America, as well as in Mexico and California, certain apparently Christian traditions, customs and practices, universally believed to have come down from the earliest ages, and to have been introduced

(1) Veytia, *Hist. Antig. Mex.*

by him who was known as Quetzalcohuatl, a white man, who, as we have shown, came into the country in the year 63 of our era.¹

Again, on the arrival of the Dominican Fathers in Mexico, immediately after the conquest by Cortes, they found with a chief in the province of Zapotecas a symbolical writing, said to have been handed down from time immemorial, in which we are assured were contained the doctrines of the Christian religion.² Father Garcia, a Franciscan, on whose authority the above has been given, further assures us that when a member of his order happened to pass through the village of Nijapa, in the province of Huaxaca, the Vicar of the Convent, who was a Dominican, showed him some ancient hieroglyphical writings containing all the principal doctrines of the Christian religion and the *coming of the Apostle to the country*.

Taking, then, into account all the customs, traditions and practices of the people, it seems to us a most reasonable and probable opinion that the

(1) "Es constante y uniforme la noticia que se hallo en todas estas gentes, de què el fue quien les enseñò el ayuno de cuarenta dias, que debian observar annualmente, la mortificacion y penitencia, disciplinandose las espaldas, brazos y pantorillas con abropos y espinas, hasta deremar sangre. Les exhorto a dar limosnas, y scorrer las necessidades de los progenies, haciendoles entender che no solo debian hacerlo por acto de humanidad sino de religion, por amor de Dios y en su obsequio sin excepcion de personas; y en esta materia era particular una fiesta che celebraban los Mejicanos en el mes Hueytecuilhutl en honor de una de sus deidades llamada Xilomen diosa del maiz tierno." *Veytia*, p. 175.

(2) "Hallaron en un lugar llamado Quichopa en poder de un casique una *Biblia* de solas figuras que eran los caracteres que les servian de letras cuija significacion sabian porque de padres à hijos se iban enseñando el modo de enterder aquellas figuras y este libro le guardaban de tiempo muy antiguo": *Veytia*, p. 174.

Christian religion was preached in this country long before the days of Columbus.

What is now incumbent upon us is to show that the person, Quetzalcohuatl, who is said to have been the originator of all the doctrines and customs alluded to, was none other than the Apostle St. Thomas. For the truth of our assertion we rely in the first instance on the true signification of the name. In the Mexican and Peruvian annals the names of all celebrated persons, it is well to remember, were allegorical. Although at the moment of baptism a name was given to the child, it not unfrequently happened that another was conferred during life on account of some remarkable deeds or specialty of character. Hence the appellations by which the kings of Texcoco and others were styled.

The literal signification of the word Quetzalcohuatl is a "*peafowl-serpent*," or, less literally, a feathered serpent. Metaphorically it meant, as we shall show, a precious twin. It is composed of two words, Quetzallin, a peafowl, and Cohuatl, a serpent. The former was also used to express any kind of excellent plumage, the peafowl's being the most esteemed and most in use to adorn the head; and, as we know, the serpent has ever been regarded by all as the symbol of wisdom. Hence both words, used allegorically as a single appellative, came to express the mental endowment, wisdom, learning and respect of any individual; so that to

say he was a richly plumed serpent was equivalent to saying he was a man of talent, much esteemed and learned.

Luis Becerro Tanco, in his work on the apparition of our Lady of Guadalupe, tells us that the word Quetzalcohuatl expresses exactly the Apostle's name, it being a true translation of it. In the Nahuatl dialect "*Cohuatl*," which signified a serpent, signified allegorically a twin, from the supposition that a serpent always brings forth two at a birth. Dr. Siguenza, in a most learned work, which unhappily has been lost, supports this opinion, and proved, it is said, most satisfactorily, that Quetzalcohuatl was St. Thomas, but as this work is not now in existence, we must only rely on the strength of our own proof for the establishment of the case. From the gospel we know that St. Thomas was called Didymus, or the twin. The Indians, in translating the word, would naturally have followed the rule adopted toward all remarkable men, by giving it an allegorical rendering, adding as a mark of respect for his person, Quetzallin, which, when added to Cohuatl, signified, allegorically: "The very learned or much esteemed twin." That Cohuatl, or twin, was really the name that they gave to him, and that the other was only an epithet of veneration is clear, from the fact that all his disciples forming those monastic establishments of which we have spoken as existing in the country on the arrival of the Spaniards, went by

the name of Cocomes, or twins, which is the plural of Cohuatl.

It is also a very remarkable fact, which we learn upon the authority of Father Kirker, in his *China Illustrated*, and which is spoken of by Lurena in his life of St. Francis, and by Garcia in his work on the preaching of the gospel, that on the tomb of the Apostle at Meliapor, in the Indies, a peafowl was represented holding the cross in its beak, hereby connecting very significantly the name of the Apostle with the Quetzallin, or peafowl, of which we have spoken. It has also been positively asserted by Calanche and Obalde that, in several of the Mexican phonetic writings, the true name of St. Thomas has been preserved.

CHAPTER IX.

LEADING FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF QUETZALCOHUATL.—
 WHAT HE TAUGHT.—HOW BANISHED.—HIS PROPHECY.—PROMISING TO RETURN.—A WHITE PEOPLE TO COME.—PHENOMENA PRIOR TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS.—SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF ST. THOMAS.—HIS PROBABLE PLACE OF LANDING.—HOW THE DOCTRINE MAY HAVE BEEN CORRUPTED.—MEANS BY WHICH THE APOSTLE MIGHT HAVE ARRIVED IN THE COUNTRY.—AMERICA KNOWN TO EUROPEANS BEFORE CHRISTIANITY.—QUOTATIONS FROM HANNO, PLATO, ARISTOTLE, PLUTARCH AND SENECA.

INDEPENDENT of what has been said in the preceding chapter, there is still further evidence of a similar character leading to the same conclusion. The great similarity between the general character of Quetzalcohuatl as represented in Mexican mythology and that of an Apostle, is certainly very remarkable. It would be idle for any one to attempt to deny the existence of those popular traditions, which represent this beneficent man as visiting the country and coming from the west, in company with several disciples, for the purpose of teaching the people.¹ Although known under different names in different parts of the continent, the general character is so clearly defined that the identity of the man can in no sense be a subject of mistake. Hence, it is universally acknowledged that Quetzalcohuatl of Mexico, Cozas or Cocalcan

(1) Vide Sahagun, Mier, Prescott, etc.

of Yucatan, and Viracocha of Peru, are one and the same person.

The prominent facts connected with his history, as handed down from time immemorial, are exactly what we would expect to meet with in the life of an Apostle. According to the popular tradition he was for some time high priest of Tula, or Tollan, a town situated to the north of the Mexican Valley, and once the capital of the Empire of the Toltecs. Hence we are told he sent forth his disciples through all the neighboring provinces to preach a new and admirable law, the leading points of which seem to have been the prohibition of the worship of idols and human sacrifices, the knowledge of the triune divinity or triple godhead Tzencotl, Huitzlopochtli and Touacayohua, penance, fasts, etc.

Having been persecuted by Huemac, king of that place, who had apostatized from his religion and put several of his disciples to death, he fled to Cholula, whither being pursued by the implacable monarch, he passed on to Yucatan, where he left four of his disciples to propagate his religion, proceeding himself to the islands in the vicinity, which, from that time, have been known by the name of the place where the "Twin hid himself." After a period he returned to Tollan, but finding his followers mixed up with the people, having intermarried in the meantime with the other inhabitants of the land, he set out for Huehuetlapallan,

prophecy before leaving that his brothers in religion, white men, would one day come into the country to rule over the people and teach them religion. That this prophecy was widely spread through the country and firmly believed in by the inhabitants, there cannot be a shadow of doubt. Not only modern, but ancient writers attest its existence. Sahagun, who wrote at the period of the conquest, speaks of it, and assures us that on the arrival of the Spaniards on the coast the natives proceeded in canoes to the ships, and offered adoration to them, believing that the god Quetzalcohuatl, with his followers, had returned, and that the fulfillment of the prophecy was accomplished. The words of the historian are these: "They entered immediately into canoes and commenced to row toward the vessels, and, as they arrived near the ships and saw the Spaniards they kissed the prows of their vessels as a sign of adoration, thinking that it was the god Quetzalcohuatl, who had returned, whom they were expecting, as appears in the history of that god."¹ And in the following chapter he says: "As Montezuma heard the news he despatched persons to receive Quetzalcohuatl, for he thought it was he who had come, for they were daily expecting him (*cada dia le estaban esperando*). And as it was known that Quetzalcohuatl had departed toward the east, and that the vessels had also come from the east, for this reason they thought it was he."²

(1) *Historia de a Conquista de Mexico*: vol. 1, chap. 2.

(2) *Ibid*, chap. iii.

It is then undeniably true, that a popular tradition existed in the country, respecting a prophecy, made by Quetzalcohuatl, in which was foretold the future arrival of whites on the coast; and this, while it proves the reality of the man, and his character as a teacher of religion, also proves the still more important and appreciable fact of his being a Christian, and of western origin; for, it was clearly set forth in the prophecy, that the persons who should come would be whites, and of the same religion as he. The time also seems to have been specified by the Apostle, if we are to judge from the expression that they were expecting him every day. And, indeed, Boturini assures us, that the time mentioned in the Mexican hieroglyphics, was that in which the Christians arrived. The year *ce acatl* was that foretold by Quetzalcohuatl, and in that year the Spaniards landed in the country.

But what seemed to impress them especially with the belief of his immediate arrival, were the remarkable phenomena which occurred at this time, and of which we have spoken before. They were eight in all: the first, which occurred ten years previous to the Christians' arrival, being a frightful, appalling flame, or pillar of fire, that seemed to reach from earth to heaven, and turned night into day. It used to appear in the east, always after the hour of midnight, and continued until morning, appearing regularly in the same

way every night, for the space of an entire year. The whole population was exceedingly terrified, and believed that it portended some terrible calamity. The second, was the unaccountable burning of the great tower of the temple of the god Huitzilipochetli, the flames seeming to proceed from the very centre of the columns. Then there was the sudden overflow of the lake, without any assignable cause, there being neither storm nor earthquake; and, more alarming still, there was an unearthly, doleful voice, crying in the air, and saying, "Oh, my children, we are lost! where now shall I take thee!"

It would be, then, for those who deny the Christian character of this man, to account in some satisfactory way for these remarkable occurrences. It is not in accordance with reason or religion, to suppose that the Almighty would have made use of a Pagan impostor, to foretell the introduction of His religion into this country. On the other hand, Paganism is tolerant of its own; it does not persecute its ministers of religion; there is nothing in its system to contradict the natural desires. Neither do Pagans go forth in the character of apostles, to teach men most admirable laws, to inculcate veneration to the symbol of the Christian religion, to enforce the advantages and necessity of fasts, penances, baptism and confession. But, least of all, do Pagans show forth in their lives, and enforce, both by word and

example, the most admirable lessons of continency, such as this man is accredited with having observed.

To sum up, then, all that has been said in the foregoing, our argument may be thus briefly stated:

On the arrival of the Spaniards in America, certain customs, practices and traditions, were found to prevail, which, on any other hypothesis than that of the previous introduction of Christianity into the country, cannot be satisfactorily explained. They had nothing in common with Paganism; they were not in whole or in part in harmony with it. In the Gentile mythology, they were certainly out of their place. The worship of the Cross, the administration of baptism, confession and communion, though very much altered and disfigured, are yet easily recognized as being essentially Christian, and not Pagan. So, also, the belief in the unity and trinity of God, the incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ, which, as we have shown, appears to have been held, at least, by some of the people. But, all these customs, practices, and ideas of religion, the popular traditions of the country, as embodied in the Mexican hieroglyphics, and the Peruvian Quipos, attribute to the venerable white man, Quetzalcohuatl, who, as was proved, visited the country in the year of our Lord 63, and whose name has been shown to be identical with that of the Apostle

St. Thomas. When to this we add the positive statement of Scripture, regarding the preaching of the gospel in, apparently, every part of the world, during the first age of the Christian religion, and the absence, on the other hand, of all satisfactory reason to the contrary, the reader, we feel certain, will be ready to admit, that the presence of the Apostle St. Thomas in this country rests on the most reasonable and probable grounds. It commends itself, too, to our acceptance the more, when we remember the field of the Apostle's missionary career in the East, he having, as it is thought, visited the Island of Sumatra¹ and the Philippines,² the direct route, which, if pursued, would have brought him to the shores of the Pacific.

The part of the coast where he landed seems to have been some point in Lower California. The reason for our arriving at such a conclusion must be obvious to the reader, for there, and not in Upper California, as we have seen, were Christian traditions encountered among the natives. The same was the opinion of the learned Dr. Mier, for, speaking of the Saint's arrival, he says: "Hence (namely from the west) he came according to his history, entering by California, although Torquemada says that he arrived at Tula, or Tollan, having disembarked at Panuco, some say, with fourteen, and others, with seven disciples, clad in long

(1) See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*.

(2) Veytia; *Historia Antig. de Mejico*.

garments reaching to the feet, with tunic and Jewish mantles similar to those of the Indians, which they are accustomed to wear in their feasts. They had not with them any women, nor had Quetzalcohuatl ever any, for he was most continent. This was the great priest of Tula, and thence he sent forth his disciples to preach in Huaxyacac and other provinces, a new and holy law. He demolished the idols, prohibited the sacrifices which were not of bread, flowers and incense, abhorred war, taught penance, the fast of forty or seventy days, etc.”¹

But objection may be taken to the foregoing by inquiring how, if the true doctrine of Christ were preached in the country, it could have eventually become so exceedingly altered and disfigured as to be hardly recognizable on the arrival of the Spaniards. To my mind the question presents no serious objection. Nothing is more natural than that a people, separated for fifteen hundred years from all communication with the countries of Europe—from all communication with the centre of Catholic unity—the living fountain of truth—should, from passion, prejudice, ignorance or persecution; or all together, have fallen into serious mistakes respecting the truth. Nor were these the only reasons which might have succeeded in producing so unhappy a result. They were further deprived of that great and invaluable means of preserving

(1) Vide Mier, Apud, Sahagun.

intact, the teaching of the Apostle, I mean the written use of language or phonetic writing, without which, unless by divine interposition, it would be almost impossible for any body of doctrine to be securely preserved for several centuries. When everything has to be learned from memory and handed down without books, through a long series of years, for several ages, all that we can reasonably expect in the end is the general outline or more prominent features of the religion as first preached to the people.

Even in Europe and Asia, where so many facilities have existed for preserving the truth in all its original purity; where recourse was so easily had to the Sovereign Pontiff; where so much learning and ability existed among all orders of the clergy; where so many councils, diocesan, provincial, national and general, have been holden for the purpose; where the very doctrine itself was carefully committed to writing and embodied in the Scriptures, in the writing of the Fathers and the Liturgies of the Church, yet how many errors, how many corruptions, how many false systems have there not originated? Not a single century has passed from the beginning that novelties have not been broached, that new systems have not been attempted, that the original faith has not in some things been impugned. In the first century there were the Ebionites, the Corinthians, the Nicholites; in the second, the Marcionites, the Valentinians,

the Basilidians, and so on down to the present. And in the change effected by many of these self-constituted Apostles, the alterations have, in several instances, been such that with difficulty we can recognize their adherents as the descendants of those who once held Catholic doctrine. Who, for instance, unless acquainted with the fact by the positive testimony of history, would believe that the Mormons, the Unitarians, the Quakers, were the children of those who believed in the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of the Sacraments, and the divine mission of the Catholic Church. What is there in Methodism, Calvinism, or Dunkerism, similar to Catholic doctrine? And yet all these, and hundreds of others, are indubitably descendants of those who, only three hundred years from the present, professed Catholic faith in all its entirety—that is to say, children of those men who believed in and frequented the Sacraments of the Church, prayed to the Saints, acknowledged and adhered to the teaching of Rome, and died in that faith.

If, then, in our own countries, in our own midst, under our own eyes, instances of this nature have occurred, wherein men have departed so widely from the original doctrine, are we to be astonished that under less favorable circumstances the truth should have been clouded, disfigured and largely corrupted. In the fifteen hundred years that elapsed from the arrival of the Apostle till the

landing of the Spaniards, what else but error, corruption and change could be expected. Ignorant and uncivilized races could not be expected to do more than preserve a general, indefinite idea of the faith. The Church, in all probability, was never securely established in the land. Persecution, if we may judge from the traditions, fell heavily upon it from the beginning. The Saint was early driven from the field of his labor. Deprived of the advantages of his presence, the people naturally fell back into a partial idolatry, preserving withal an idea of the chief doctrines of religion. Indeed, this is the very account that tradition furnishes us of the matter, for, as we have seen, Quetzalcohuatl, after having been banished, returned after a time to visit the people of Tula, and finding his followers there mixed up with the other inhabitants of the land, he abandoned the place, prophesying that his brethren would afterwards come into the country to rule over the inhabitants, and teach them religion. A couple or more generations would accordingly have sufficed in this way to blend up and confound the Christian and Pagan religion, so that at the end of one or two hundred years it would be difficult, yea, almost impossible, to distinguish in the medley the doctrine of Christ from that of the Pagans.

It may be that the reign of truth was of much longer duration than this, but the result in the end, under the circumstances, could be hardly ex-

pected to be other. Nay, it seems almost unaccountable, how a people, situated as the ancient inhabitants of this country, separated so completely from the fountain of truth; exposed so much on every side, to the pernicious influences of a corrupting idolatry; deprived of the use of a phonetic writing, wherein, to record the dogmas of their faith—not to speak of the numerous other disadvantages of a kindred character, under which they were laboring for so many centuries, and all operating in a similar direction, tending to like corrupting results—it is almost unaccountable, I say, how, under such unfavorable circumstances, they preserved so clear and well defined ideas of the Christian religion.

But, some one might ask, how was it possible for the Apostle to arrive on these shores, inasmuch as there was no communication between this country and Europe in those days. This is equally as illogical as the former is unreasonable. The preaching of the gospel in America, need not necessarily have depended on a communication between the old and the new world. He who commissioned his Apostles to preach to every creature could easily, had he desired it, have miraculously transported them to the most distant parts of the globe. Are we to suppose that distance of place, or want of free communication with races, was to be a barrier to the Lord, in the communication of

his will to his creatures? Do not the Sacred Scriptures furnish us with one instance, at least, of an Apostle being miraculously translated through the air, the distance of two hundred and seventy stadii, from Jerusalem to Azotus? "And when they were come up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord took away Philip, and the Eunuch saw him no more, and he went on his way rejoicing. But Philip was found in Azotus; and, passing through, he preached the gospel to all the cities, till he came to Cesarea."¹

It is the universal tradition of the Church, that all the Apostles were present at the death of the Mother of God, nor is it pretended that their assembling was other than miraculous.² To command the Apostles to preach the gospel throughout the entire world, and not to furnish them with the means of reaching the most distant parts, would be to enjoin an impossibility. He who gave the gift of tongues, and the power of working miracles, would not surely withhold the means of transport.

But it is not true that a communication did not exist between this country and the old world before the fifteenth century. Marco Polo is stated to have spoken of a commerce existing between

(1) *Acts: chap. viii, v. 39-40.*

(2) "Ex antiqua accepimus traditione, quod tempore gloriosæ dormitionis beatæ virginis, universi quidem sancti Apostoli qui orbem terræ ad salutem Gentium peragrabant, momento temporis in sublime elati convenerunt Jerosolomis." (De *Sermone S. Joannis Damasceni*, Apud *Breviarium Romanum*.)

southern India and this part of the world. An author cited by Dr. Mier, brings proof of a communication having existed between Mexico and China, in the fifth century; and the early Jesuit Fathers saw, on one occasion, a number of what seemed to them Chinese junks on the coast; a fact which would lead one to conclude, that the knowledge of America was not unknown to that people. But, even long before Christianity, it was known to Europeans. Hanno, the celebrated navigator, who lived about eight hundred years B. C., was probably the first who visited its shores. In a work called *The Periplus*, he speaks of a land, which those who have examined the writing, assure us, can mean only the continent of America, or some one of the neighboring islands. That on which the authors rest their conclusion, is the assertion of the navigator himself, who avers, that after having passed the pillars of Hercules, and having left the African coast, he sailed directly to the west, for the space of thirty days, when he met with land, which, from the direction he took, and the time he was out, must either have been the continent itself, or, as I have said, some of the islands in the immediate vicinity.

Four hundred years later, the Greek philosopher, Plato, speaks of the same in still more unmistakable terms. After alluding to the destruction of that imaginary land, the Atlantis, he says: "There existed an island at the mouth of the sea, beyond

the straits, called the Pillars of Hercules; this island was larger and wider than Libya and Asia; from thence there was an easy passage unto the other islands, and from the latter *unto the continent beyond those regions.*" This is further strengthened and supported by the testimony of Aristotle, Plutarch and Strabo. The former gives it as the common belief of his time, that such a land did exist. "It is said," writes the philosopher, "that the Carthagenians have discovered, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, a very fertile island—but which is without inhabitants—yet *full of forests, of navigable rivers*, and abounding in fruits. It is situated many days voyage from the main land. Some of the Carthagenians, charmed with the fertility of that country, conceived the idea of getting married, and of going and establishing themselves there; but it is said that the Carthagenian Government forbade any one to attempt to colonize the island, under penalty of death; for, in case it were to become powerful, it might deprive the mother country of *her possessions there.*" The land here spoken of, with its forests, its navigable rivers, its fertility, and distance from the main land, can hardly be mistaken for the American continent.

About the same time, or perhaps a little later in the days of Alexander the Great, Theopompus, another great writer and orator, in a work called *Thaumasias*, a species of dialogue between a certain

Midas, a Phrygian, and Silenus, speaks of the same remarkable land. The work has been unhappily lost, but it is quoted by Strabo and Alianus, by whom we are told that Theopompus, in the character of Midas, informs his friend that Europe, Asia and Africa are islands, but that further on there is a still greater land, where the animals and productions are of prodigious size, where men are of gigantic stature, and where there were numerous cities, one of which he affirms contained at that time more than a million of inhabitants. Where or from whom the writer obtained his information there is now no means of determining, but that the land he referred to was America, there cannot be a reasonable doubt.

The next writer, who speaks of the country, is Diodorus, the Sicilian, or Siculus, as he is more commonly known, and who lived about one hundred years before Christ. His language is even plainer and more satisfactory than the foregoing: "After having passed the islands, which lie beyond the Herculean Straits, we will speak of those which lie much further into the ocean. Toward Africa, and to the west of it, is an immense island in the broad sea, many days sail from Libya. Its soil is very fertile and its surface variegated with mountains and valleys. Its coasts are indented with many navigable rivers, and its fields are well cultivated, and dotted with delicious gardens and with plants and trees of all sizes." Who is there

that does not recognize in this the America of former days, with its fertile soil, variegated surface, great navigable rivers, and diversity of trees?

Later still, about the beginning of the present era, we find the great rhetorician, Seneca, alluding to it in the following words of one of his tragedies:

Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet et * * *
Pateat tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat orbes ; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.

—*Medea* : Act. 3, v. 375.

When to this we add the allusions of the great Greek and Latin Poets—Homer and Horace—regarding the situation of the famous Atlantides, where were supposed to be the Elysian plains, some ten thousand stadii, or furlongs, from Africa, there can be very little doubt, but that the continent of America was known to Europeans even before the establishment of the Christian religion. That it was also visited by Europeans after the coming of Christ, but some hundreds of years before the days of Columbus, we shall show in the following chapter.

CHAPTER X.

SECOND SOURCE WHENCE THE CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS OF CALIFORNIA MIGHT HAVE BEEN DERIVED.—THE IRISH IN ICELAND PREVIOUS TO ITS DISCOVERY BY THE NORTHMEN.—TESTIMONY OF AN IRISH MONK AND OF ICELANDIC HISTORIANS TO THIS EFFECT.—THE IRISH IN AMERICA PRIOR TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.—PROOFS FROM ICELANDIC MANUSCRIPTS.—ST. BRANDON'S VOYAGE TO AMERICA.—EUROPEAN TRADITIONS REGARDING THE VOYAGE.

ALTHOUGH the presence of St. Thomas the Apostle in the country, as shown in the preceding chapter, seems to us the genuine source whence were derived the manifestly Christian traditions and practices of which we have spoken, there is yet another channel through which they might have been obtained. Christianity was introduced into America by the Irish, on the Atlantic border, at or before the tenth century. This is established from ancient Icelandic historic writings. The route by which they entered the country seems to have been by the Faroe Isles and Iceland, while others, as the quotations to be adduced will show, proceeded direct across the Atlantic.

In the *Antiquitates Americane*, an elaborate work published in 1837 at Copenhagen under the direction of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians, the following passage from the second vellum codex of the history of King Olaf Tryggvason, attests the presence of the Irish in Iceland previous

to the discovery of that island by the Northmen: "But before Iceland was colonized from Norway, men had been there, whom the Northmen called Papas. They were Christians, for after them were found Irish books, bells, croziers, and many other things, whence it could be seen that they were Christians and had come from the west over the sea." ¹ As Iceland was discovered by the Northmen early in the second half of the ninth century, the Irish must have been there previous to that date. In another Icelandic work, the *Shedæ* of Ari Frode, surnamed the Learned, the same positive evidence is found attesting the presence of the Irish in Iceland at that early period: "At that time, viz: before the coming of the Northmen, Iceland was covered with woods between the mountains and the sea. There were then Christian people here whom the Northmen called Papas, but they subsequently departed, for they would not be here among heathens: they left after them Irish books, bells and croziers from which it could be seen that they were Irishmen." ² And in the Prologue to the *Landnamabock*, the most accurate and reliable ancient Icelandic history, similar testimony, in almost the very identical words, is also given. ³

(1) See *Icelandic Original* at end of chap. *Antiquitates Americane*, p. 203. *Discovery of America by the Northmen*: Ludlow Beamish, Fellow of the Royal Society of Northmen.

(2) See original at end of chap.

(3) Vide *Antiquitates Americane*.

To the foregoing, it may be objected that no account of such a colonization is to be found in the pages of Irish history. This, the reader will observe, is but, at best, only a negative argument, and of very little weight in presence of the positive evidence adduced. The most important and brilliant period of Irish history, remains unsupported by any authentic manuscript writings; the *Psalter of Cashel*, written in the ninth century, being the oldest of the kind. But it is not true, that all Irish history is silent on this point. In the Imperial Library, in Paris, there is a Latin manuscript treatise entitled "Liber de Mensura orbis terræ," written in 775, by the Irish monk Dicuil, Abbot of Pahlarcht, in which he tells us, he had spoken with some Irish ecclesiastics, who had been in Thule, with which he evidently associates Iceland. "It is now thirty years since certain Religious, who lived in the Island of Thule from the kalends of February to the kalends of August, related to me, that not only in the summer solstice, but in the immediate days thereof, the sun set as if behind a hillock, so that for the shortest space of time there was no darkness, and one could perform a work requiring the minutest observation, "vel pediculosus de camisia abstrahere tanquam in presentia solis potest!" And if one were on the mountain's top, perhaps the sun would not become invisible at all. * * * Besides, those were deceived, who represented it as sur-

rounded by a frozen ocean, and as enjoying perpetual day from the vernal to the autumnal equinox, and *vice versa*, continued night from the autumnal to the vernal; inasmuch as the Religious arrived in the winter season, and, during their sojourn, experienced both day and night alternately." There is no one who can fail to recognize, in the foregoing, the island of which we are speaking. Iceland, alone, would answer to the description given by the writer, as enjoying an almost perpetual day for one half of the year; and, again, laboring under the disadvantages of almost perpetual night' for the other half. He then goes on to speak of the Faroe Isles, leaving it still more clearly to be understood, that he had first spoken of Iceland. "There are many other islands in the North Atlantic Ocean, which, from the Shetlands, may be easily reached, with a fair wind, in a couple of days. A certain Religious assured me, that in two days and a night, he reached one of them, in a four-oared boat. Some of these islands, which are small—almost all being separated by narrow straits—were inhabited, about one hundred years ago, by hermits, from Ireland. But, as from the beginning of the world, they had been uninhabited, so also now, on account of the Norman brigands, are they deserted by the anchorites; but they are stocked with large herds of sheep, and a great variety of marine birds. We have

never found these islands mentioned by any author.”¹

From this, it must appear evident to the reader, that the Irish inhabited Iceland, previous to its discovery by the Northmen, in the ninth century; for, as has been remarked, Diculius wrote in the year 775. Whence they proceeded, on being banished the island, we may reasonably conjecture, from the historical evidence to be adduced.

In the Iceland historic work—the *Landnambok*; to which reference has been already made, an account is given of an Icelandic chief, Ari Marson, who, in the year of our Lord, 982, while voyaging at sea, was driven from his course and wrecked on a land which will be subsequently shown to have been the Atlantic coast of North America, where he encountered some Irish, and received baptism at their hands. The passage, as translated from the Are-Magnean collection of Icelandic manuscript histories, preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, runs thus: “Ulf, the squinter, son of Högni, the white, took all Reyk-janes between Tharkafjard and Hafrafel; he married Bjorg, daughter of Eyvind, the eastman, sister of Helge, the lean; their son was Atili, the red, who married Tharkalta, daughter of Herjil Neprass; their son was Ari, he was driven by a tempest to White Man’s Land, which some call

(1) The book of *Diculius de mensura orbis terræ*, from the two codex manuscripts of the Imperial Library, at Paris, edited, for the first time, by C. A. Walckmaer, Paris, 1807.

Great Ireland. It lies to the west in the sea, near to Vinland the Good, and six days sailing to the west from Ireland.¹ Thence Ari was unable to get away, and *was there baptized*. This account was given by Rafn, the Limerick merchant, who had lived a long time at Limerick, in Ireland. Thus, also, said Tharkell Gellerson, that Icelanders had stated, who had heard Thorfinn Jarl of the Orkneys relate that Ari was recognized in White Man's Land, and could not get away from thence, but was much respected."

It is now incumbent, before proceeding further in the argument, to show that White Man's Land, where Ari Marson was wrecked and baptized was a part of the Atlantic border of North America. The geographical position given it in the passage, near to Vinland the Good, which all the most eminent northern antiquarians, as Rask, Rafn, Beamish, Pinkerton, and a host of others, recognize as the present State of Massachusetts, may be offered in the first place in evidence. But more satisfactory still, as excluding all reasonable doubt, is the unequivocal testimony of the Icelandic geographer. In the manuscript, codex B. 770 c. 8vo., the following geographical fragment regarding the position of Great Ireland is thus given: "Now, there are, as is said, south from Greenland, which

(1) *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 21—"The six days here spoken of, it must be admitted, present a difficulty, but it is thought by the most eminent men to have been an error on the part of the copyist, for the original manuscript no longer exists. Rafn supposes that it was originally written xxxvi, and not vi."

is inhabited, deserts, uninhabited places, and icebergs, then the lands of the Skrelings, then Markland, then Vinland the Good; next, and somewhat behind, lies Albania *Huitramanaland*, which is *White Man's Land*. *Thither was sailing formerly from Ireland; there Irishmen and Icelanders recognised Ari, the son of Mar and Ratla of Reykjanes, of whom nothing had been heard for a long time, and who had been made a chief there by the inhabitants.*"¹

The position thus accorded to White Man's Land, or Great Ireland, whence there was communication formerly with Ireland, cannot, by any possibility, be made to refer to any other than that part of the Atlantic coast between New York and Florida; for, to the south of Greenland there is no other land than the American continent, while the very appositeness of the names given to the different parts of the coast leave no manner of doubt as to the precise locality thereof. Thus, the inhabitable places and icebergs mentioned in the first part of the description as occurring immediately on leaving Greenland, are a faithful representation of that part of the American coast in the immediate vicinity of Davis' Straits and Hudson's Bay. The land of the Skrelings, or Helluland—Flat Stone Land—as it is also called in other Icelandic manuscripts, as we shall presently see, is likewise a most appropriate name for the country of the

(1) *Antig. Amer.*, p. 215.

Esquimaux along the Labrador coast, the land there being entirely barren, and covered with enormous stones, as we learn from the works of travelers.¹ Markland, or Woodland, which is placed next in order, and is understood as representing the Nova Scotia coast, is thus described in the *Columbian Navigator*: "The land about the harbor of Halifax, and a little to the southward of it, is in appearance rugged and rocky and has on it in several places *scrubby withered woods*. Although it seems bold, yet it is not high." And a writer in the *North American Pilot*, published in London, in 1815, represents it as low, barren, sandy, and woody: "Near Port Hallimand are several barren places; and thence to Cape Sable, which makes the southwest point into Barrington's Bay, is a low *woody island*, at the southeast extremity of a range of sandy cliffs."² The foregoing is corroborated and confirmed by the account given in the celebrated Flatobogen codex of the voyages of Leif Erickson, Thorwald, Thorfinn, and Karlsefne, as also by numerous geographical notices, some of which we shall introduce to the notice of the reader. In 994, Leif Erickson, son of Erick the Red, set out on an expedition from Greenland, in order to visit the land we have been describing,

(1) This vast tract of land is extremely barren, and altogether incapable of cultivation. The surface is everywhere uneven, and covered with large stones, some of which are of amazing dimensions. There is no such thing as level land. (*Particulars of Labrador*. Phil. Transac., vol. L., c. xiv.)

(2) See Beamish *Hist. Northmen*.

which had been visited a few years previous by his countryman Bjorni Herjulfson. "Erick went home to Brathahild, but Leif repaired to the ship with thirty-five men. There was a southern man, Tyrker Hight, in the company.¹ After preparing the vessel, they sailed into the open sea, and found that land first which Bjarni had found last. After casting anchor, they put off boats and went ashore, but could see no grass. The mountains were covered with enormous masses of icebergs, while the country from the sea thereto appeared as if a plain of *flat stones*, and devoid of every good quality. Leif then spoke and said: "It has not happened to us as it did to Bjarni that we have not landed. Now, I will give it a name, and call it *Helluland*. They then returned to the vessel, and after sailing for some time, came to another land, where they cast anchor and went ashore. This land was *flat and covered with wood*. Then said Leif, it shall be called after its qualities, and he named it *Markland* (Woodland).

They next immediately returned to the ship, and sailed into the open sea, with a northeast wind, and were two days before they saw land; whither on proceeding, they came to an island which lay to the eastward of the coast. There they went ashore, and observed that there was dew upon the grass; and it so happened that they touched the dew with their hands, and having applied their fingers

(1) This man was supposed to be a German.

to their mouths, they thought they had never before tasted anything so sweet. After that, they returned to the ship,¹ and sailed into a sound which lay between the island and a ness, which ran out to the eastward of the land, and then steered westward past the ness. It was *very shallow at ebb tide*, so that their ship was unable to advance.² But, so much did they desire to land, that they did not give themselves time to wait till the water rose under their ship, but ran at once on shore," etc. The narrative then goes on to state how they put up there for the winter, and how having found vines, they called the place Vinland. "And, when the spring came, they got ready and sailed away, and Lief gave the land a name after its qualities, and called it *Vinland*."³

The above discovery was made in 994, from which time till the expedition of Thorfinn Karlsefne in 1007 it was visited respectively by Thorwald in 1002, and by Thorstein Erickson in 1005. The description given of it by Karlsefne is identical with that of Leif Erickson: "In Brathahild there was much talk about exploring Vinland

(1) This appears to have been Nantucket Island, where honey-dew is known to exist. (*Vide* communication of Dr. Webb to Rhode Island Society.)

(2) This is a most correct description of the passage between Cape Cod and Rhode Island. "The eastern entrance," says the *Columbian Navigator*, "is impeded by numerous reefs and other shoals, as likewise the central and western parts, and the whole presents an aspect of drowned lands, which, there can be little doubt, were at some period anterior to history connected with the mainland." (*Vide Antiq. Amer.*, p. 425. Ludlow Beamish.)

(3) *Antiquitates Americane*.

the good, for it was said that a voyage thither would be particularly advantageous by reason of the fertility of the land; and it went so far that Karlsefne and Snorri prepared their ships to explore the land in spring. * * * They had the vessels which Thorbgörn had brought out from Iceland. They had in all one hundred and sixty men when they sailed to the western settlement, and from thence to Bjorni. From here, having sailed *two days to the south*, they saw land, and having put off boats and explored the coast, they found there great flat stones, and called the land *Hellu-land*. Thence they sailed two days, and having turned from the south to the southeast, they found *a land covered with woods*, and many wild beasts upon it; and an island lay there out from the land to the southeast. Having killed a bear there, and called the place Bear-Island, they named the neighboring land Markland."

The narrative then continues to speak of their further adventures along the coast, and concludes in the following manner: "When they sailed from Vinland they had a south wind and came to Markland, and found there five Skrelings, one of whom was an adult, while two were girls and two were boys. They took the boys, but the others escaped. * * * The youths said there was a land on the other side, just opposite their country, where people lived who wore white clothes, and carried

poles before them to which they fastened flags, and they shouted with a loud voice. And people think that this was White Man's Land or *Great Ireland*."

In testimony of the foregoing, as placing beyond the region of doubt the reality of Thorfinn's voyage to America, and his presence in that part of the country of which we have spoken, is the runic inscription found on the eastern coast in the neighborhood of Providence about the middle of the seventeenth century. According to Professor Rafn and Fin Magneusen, to whom a photograph copy was forwarded to Copenhagen, the rude combination of figures is illustrative of the visit of the Northmen to the country, the name of Thorfinn and the number of his companions being engraved on the rock.

The geographical notices contained in the vellum and Gripla codexes are equally satisfactory: "South of Greenland is Helluland, next lies Markland, thence it is not far to Vinland the good," etc. And in the Gripla it is said: "Now it is to be mentioned what lies opposite Greenland, out from the Bay; it is Furdustrander; there are strong frosts there, so that it is not habitable as far as is known. South from thence is Helluland, which is called Skrelingsland; south from thence it is not far to Vinland the good," etc.¹

There can be no possible mistake, then, that the

(1) *Antiq. Amer.*: p. 215.

Vinland and White Man's Land, or Great Ireland, spoken of in the text, formed part of the Atlantic border of North America. But in the manuscripts from which we have quoted, it is expressly stated, that communication existed between that country and Ireland; that Ari Marson was baptized there and recognized by Irishmen; hence it is to be certainly concluded that some Irish Christians existed in the country previous to the eleventh century.¹

Such, indeed, is acknowledged by the greatest and most accurate of modern investigators. Speaking on the subject, Baron Von Humboldt says: "In the older Sagas—the historical narratives of Thornfinn Karlsefne, and the Icelandic Landnamabock—the southern coasts between Virginia and Florida are designated under the name of the Land of the White Men. They are expressly called Great Ireland (Irland-it-Mikla), and it is maintained that they were peopled by the Irish."² The same is also admitted by Mons. Charney, the learn-

(1) "This country—Vinland—was supposed to be Huitramannaland, as it was called (the Land of the White Men) otherwise called Irland-it-Mikla (Great Ireland), being probably that part of the coast of North America which extends southward from Chesapeake Bay, including North and South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. Among the Shawanese Indians, who some years ago emigrated from Florida, and are now settled in Ohio, there is preserved a tradition, which seems of importance here, viz: that Florida was once inhabited by white people, who were in possession of iron implements. Judging from the ancient accounts, this must have been an *Irish Christian people*, who, previous to the year 1000, were settled in this region. The powerful chieftain Ari Marson, of Reykjanes, in Iceland, was in the year 983 driven thither by storms, and was there baptized." (Abstract of the Historical Evidence contained in the *Antiquitates, or America Discovered by the Scandinavians in the Tenth Century*, xxxvii.)

(2) *Humboldt Cosmos*, vol. 1.

ed author of the ancient cities and ruins of the Americans,¹ as well as by Beamish. After quoting Professor Rafn's words to the effect that the country south of the Chesapeake Bay, including North and South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida was the part called White Man's Land, the last continues thus: "From what cause could the name of Great Ireland have arisen, but from the fact of the country having been *colonized by the Irish*? Coming from their own green island to a vast continent, possessing many fertile qualities of their native soil, the appellation would have been natural and appropriate; and costume, color or peculiar habits might have readily given rise to the country being denominated White Man's Land."

Nor should it be supposed that the Irish would have found it impossible to have reached the American shores at that period; for, as has been shown, they discovered and inhabited Iceland, previous to the ninth century; for the accomplishment of which, they had to traverse a stormy ocean of several hundred miles. And, we are told by O'Halloran, who gives as his authority the *Psalter of Cashel*, the oldest Irish manuscript extant, of a great expedition—a numerous fleet having been prepared by Moghcorb, king of Leath Mogha, in the year of our Lord 296, with which

(1) Dans les Sagas Islandaises toute la contrée comprenant le Texas la péninsule Floridienne et les bords du Mississippi, la Géorgie, actuelle et les Carolines, est désignée sous le nom d' Irland-et-Mikla ou la Grande Irlande, et par celui de Hvitrámanaland ou la Terre des hommes blancs." (*Cités et Ruines Américaines*: Charney, Paris, 1861, p. 18.)

he invaded Denmark. Also, in 367, Criomthan, who is styled monarch of Ireland and Albany, dispatched a powerful fleet to Scotland, in behalf of the Picts against the Romans; while still later, in 396, Niall of the nine hostages, sent what O'Halloran terms a numerous navy, for a like purpose.

Independent entirely of the foregoing—resting solely on the ancient Irish traditions which were known to exist, and were received in different parts of the continent of Europe, it is almost impossible to arrive at any other conclusion, than that America was visited by Irishmen, long before the arrival of the Spaniards in the fifteenth century. Every one acquainted with the history of Ireland, must be aware that there existed in the country, from the earliest time, a tradition of the voyage of St. Brennen, or Brandon, to the west. St. Brandon was born about the year 485, and undertook his voyage, it is thought, in 545. The local traditions of his adventure still exist on the west coast of Ireland; but he was not the first of whom tradition speaks, as having crossed the Atlantic. Barinthus, his cousin, it is said, had preceded him; from whom, having learned an account of the country, and the great number of idolators who inhabited it, he resolved to carry to them the tidings of redemption. The particulars of the tradition are embodied in the following: “We are informed that Brandon, hearing of the previous voyage of his cousin Barinthus, in the western

ocean, and obtaining an account from him, of the happy isles he had landed on in the far west, determined, under the strong desire of winning heathen souls to Christ, to undertake a voyage of discovery himself. And, aware that all along the western coast of Ireland, there were many traditions respecting the existence of a western land, he proceeded to the island of Arran, and there remained for some time, holding communication with the venerable St. Enda, and obtaining from him much information on what his mind was bent. There can be little doubt that he proceeded northward along the coast of Mayo, and made inquiry among its bays and islands, of the remnant of the Tuatha Danaan people, that once were so expert in naval affairs, and who acquired from the Milesians that overcame them, the character of being magicians, for their superior knowledge. At Inniskea, then, and Innisgloria, Brandon set up his Cross, and in after time, in his honor, *were erected those curious remains that still exist.*

Having prosecuted his inquiries with all diligence, Brandon returned to his native Kerry, and from a bay, sheltered by a lofty mountain, that is now known by his name, he set sail for the Atlantic land; and, directing his course toward the southwest, in order to meet the summer solstice, or, what we would call the tropics, after a long and rough voyage, his little bark being well provisioned, he came to summer seas, where he was

carried along, without the aid of sail or oar, for many a long day. This, it is to be presumed, was the great gulf stream, and which brought his vessel to shore, somewhere about the Virginia capes, or where the American coast trends eastward, and forms the New England States.

Here landing, he and his companions marched steadily into the interior, for fifteen days, and then came to a large river, flowing from east to west; this, evidently, was the Ohio. And this the holy adventurer was about to cross, when he was accosted by a person of noble presence—but whether a real or imaginary man, does not appear—who told him he had gone far enough; that further discoveries were reserved for other men, who would, in due time, come and christianize all that pleasant land.

The above, when tested by common sense, clearly shows that Brandon landed on a continent, and went a good way into the interior, met a great river, running in a different direction from those he heretofore had crossed, and here, from the difficulty of transit, or want of provisions, or deterred by increasing difficulties, he turned back; and, no doubt, in a dream, he saw some such vision, which embodied his own previous thoughts, and satisfied him that it was expedient for him to return home. It is said he remained seven years away, and returned to set up a college of three

thousand monks, at Clonbert, and then died in the odor of sanctity.”¹

In the foregoing, the reader will not have failed to observe, that as St. Brandon, who was born in 485, found several traditions existing in the country, regarding the existence of a western land, and the connection therewith of the names of the Tuatha de Danaans, it is by no means improbable, that even before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, America was visited by Irishmen. Indeed, the very accounts given by Irish historians, of the overthrow and dispersion of the Ne-medians, would seem to favor this opinion; for, being overcome by the Fomarians, one thousand eight hundred years before Christ, they split into three bodies, and betook themselves to sea, in quest of other lands; some, as is supposed, finding a home, for the time, in North Britain; while others proceeded to more northern countries, for a like purpose. To this, we shall refer in a subsequent chapter, as tending to explain the most difficult problem of American history—the origin of the mounds, fortifications, viaducts and other evidences of ancient civilization, everywhere found on the American continent.

As to the fact of the voyage of St. Brandon, the traditions concerning it were not merely confined to the country of the Saint, but were widely

(1) *Olway's Sketches*: pp. 98-99.

diffused through the continent of Europe.¹ In the thirteenth century, Jacobus Voraginius, Bishop of Genoa, celebrated the Saint's voyage, in the poem called the "*Golden Legend*," and in the map drawn up for Columbus, prior to his voyage of discovery, by Toscanelli, of Florence, St. Brandon's land is expressly marked, from all which, it is to be concluded that the voyage of the Saint was not an imaginary but a real one,² and that from his presence in the country, or, from the other Irish, who have been shown, from Icelandic histories, to have been on the coast at a later date, may have come those manifestly Christian traditions, doctrines and practices, found to exist in California, on the arrival of the Spaniards, and of which we have spoken above.

(1) Vide *Usher's Antiq. of British Churches*; *Epistles of Irish Saints*; *Humboldt's Cosmos*: vol. I.

(2) *Irish Settlers in North America*: vol. I., p. 21.

NOTE.—The extracts from the original Icelandic will be found in Note at end of volume.

CHAPTER XI.

REDUCTION OF THE COUNTRY BY THE CIVIL AUTHORITY FOUND TO BE IMPOSSIBLE.—IT IS OFFERED TO THE JESUITS.—THEY REFUSE.—FATHER KUHN PROPOSES TO UNDERTAKE THE WORK.—HE IS JOINED BY FATHER JOHN SALVA TIERRA.—THEIR CHARACTERS.—THEIR PERSEVERING EFFORTS TO OBTAIN PERMISSION TO ENTER THE COUNTRY.—THEIR SUCCESS.—FATHER TIERRA SAILS FOR CALIFORNIA.—THE LIVES OF THE CHRISTIANS IN DANGER FROM THE NATIVES.—FATHER PICCOLO ARRIVES.—DANGER AGAIN FROM THE NATIVES.—CRITICAL POSITION OF THE CHRISTIANS.—THEIR PROVISIONS ARE EXHAUSTED.—ON THE VERGE OF PERISHING FROM WANT.—THEY MAKE A NOVENA.—SUPPLIES ARRIVE.—FATHER TIERRA VISITS THE TRIBES IN THE INTERIOR.—SUCCESS DURING THE FIRST THREE YEARS.

ON the return of Admiral Otando's expedition, of which we have spoken in the opening chapter, after an absence of three years, during which two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars of the royal exchequer were fruitlessly wasted, the probability of reducing the country by such means was taken into the serious consideration of Government. In a council held on the occasion, after mature deliberation, the conquest of California was declared entirely impracticable by the civil authorities. But that such a dependency might not be lost to the crown, it was proposed to entrust its reduction to the Jesuit Fathers, with an offer of the necessary means to be paid annually from the Government funds.

Father Angelo Marras, the then acting provincial, with the unanimous consent of the chapter, respectfully declined the offer of Government, alleging as a reason the many inconveniences the society would be exposed to in taking upon itself the temporal concerns of the country in the manner required. The Fathers, however, expressed themselves ready to furnish a number of missionary priests, as they had done in the preceding expeditions, whenever Government would deem proper to renew the attempt. Thus the matter was given over as hopeless, and no further attempt was made for the ten following years. Meantime, he Almighty, in his ineffable wisdom and goodness, was preparing in the person of an humble missionary priest, a power which, when all others had failed, would prove eminently successful in accomplishing the work, thereby establishing the truth of the words: "For the foolish things of the world hath God chosen that He may confound the wise; and the weak things of the world hath God chosen, that He may confound the strong. And the base things of the world, and the things that are contemptible hath God chosen, and the things that are not, that He might bring to nought things that are: that no flesh should glory in His sight." ¹

"Arms and men," says Father Venegas, "were the means for which men relied for the success of

(1) *St. Paul's First Epistles Corinthians*: chap. 1, v. 27-29.

this enterprise. But it was the will of Heaven that this triumph should be owing to the meekness and courtesy of His ministers, to the humiliation of His cross, and the power of His word. God seemed only to wait till human force acknowledged its weakness to display the strength of His Almighty arm, confounding the pride of the world by means of the weakest instrument. Possibly God was not pleased to countenance the first enterprises to California, whilst the capital object was temporal good, and religion only a secondary motive. And, on the contrary, He prospered the design when His kingdom was the motive, and the advantage of the monarchy only considered as a probable consequence."

After the failure of the expedition, the missionaries returned to their respective positions, but the good dispositions they had witnessed in the natives, made them desirous of returning to a land where they might reasonably hope for the most brilliant success as the result of their labors. The most interested and confident in the future success of the work was the Rev. Father Kühno, a man of high culture, great natural ability, and a profound sense of religion. Father Kühno was equally remarkable for his piety, his zeal, and indefatigable exertions on behalf of religion, of which he eventually gave such remarkable proofs, as for his talent and natural endowments.

Born about the year 1650, at Trent, he entered the

Society of Jesus at an early period; and, after completing his course, in which he was eminently distinguished, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the University of Ingolstadt, in Bavaria. Here he was honored on account of his eminent attainments, with the particular favors of the crown. The highest honors and dignities were certain to follow in time; but neither the favors of the monarch, nor the applause of his pupils was any impediment in preventing him from devoting himself to the wants of the poor and abandoned, as an humble missionary priest to a barbarous race. Accordingly, he exchanged the precincts of the court for the barren hills of California—the students of Ingolstadt, for the poor savages of America. Like his great prototype in the east, Father Richard de Nobili, his heart was inflamed with a most ardent desire of promoting the kingdom of God upon earth.

Pursuant to a vow made to his patron St. Francis, he quitted his post of mathematics in Europe, and came over to Mexico, as missionary to the natives. Such devotion in the cause of religion could not fail to be attended with the most favorable results. Having proposed to himself the Apostle of the Indies as his model in life, he imitated his virtues, and practiced his austerities. His heart was as large as his intellect. Not only the conversion of the savage inhabitants, but their amelioration, both social and religious, was the

first and uppermost thought in his mind. The consummate knowledge he had of the sciences, as well as his gentleness and affability of manner, which gained him an ascendancy over the minds of others, contributed not a little to aid him in effecting his purpose.

But, though the prime mover and principal agent in bringing about the conversion of the people, Father Kühno was not the immediate instrument used by the Almighty for this charitable purpose, as we shall presently see. With the view of facilitating his entrance into California, he solicited permission to labor in the province of Sonora, at the opposite side of the gulf. By this, he contemplated being able to enter more readily on the field of his labors, and the reduction of the natives. On his request being granted, he started from Mexico, on the twentieth day of October, 1686, and traversed the country in every direction, seeking to impress upon the minds of his brethren the importance and advantage of so glorious an enterprise. During the course of his travels, he was met by the Rev. Father John Maria Salva Tierra, a man of like zeal and ability, of much experience in missionary life, having spent several years among the natives in the province of Tarrahumara.

Father Tierra was then engaged as visitor of the missions of Sinaloa and Sonora. His natural abilities, the gentleness, earnestness and affability of

his disposition—the apostolic spirit evinced in his life, joined to his naturally robust constitution, recommended him to his brother Religious as a man eminently qualified for so arduous an undertaking. The description given of him by one who knew him best, is worthy of the reader's attention:

“He was of a strong, robust constitution, bearing fatigue and hardship without affecting his health. His judgment and prudence had recommended him to the unanimous approbation of the society for the high position he had enjoyed. He was of the most endearing gentleness in discourse; had all the intrepidity and resolution requisite for beginning and conducting the greatest enterprises. The opinion of his wisdom and intellectual talent had gained him universal esteem, which was heightened to veneration by his Christian virtues.”

Such was the man destined by Heaven for the introduction of Christianity into California; but, as frequently happens, even in important concerns, undertaken for the glory of God, he had to encounter great opposition in effecting his charitable purpose. In vain did he look for encouragement, from the members of his society, the Government, or the public. The scheme was so large, and the difficulties so great, while the means at disposal; were, apparently, so inadequate, that the work was considered entirely impracticable by all. There was one, however—the man who put the project originally before him—who entered heartily

into his views, encouraged and sustained him in his purpose. While enjoying each other's society, it was the general subject of conversation, the object of their thoughts and desires. After weighing the matter maturely, it was resolved to seek immediately for permission to enter the country. Father Tierra applied to the society for permission, but the provincial, looking upon the scheme as impracticable, refused his request; and, even when repeatedly urged, it met with no better success. The proposal was also rejected by the viceroy and council, on the plea of the exhausted state of the finances; although, as we have seen, his Excellency and advisers had proposed, on the failure of Otando's expedition, to supply the necessary expenses from the royal exchequer.

Meeting with no encouragement, either from the Fathers of his society, or from the members of Government in Mexico, this remarkable man resolved to appeal to the sovereign in person; but in this he was doomed to a like disappointment. The Court of Madrid rejected his plan as unfeasible and ideal. In short, everything but the faith and confidence of the humble missionary, seemed to declare absolutely against him and his project. The country, the Government, the society, the monarch—all, in a word, were opposed to his designs; but no manner of obstacles, or repulses from those in authority, was able to shake him in his firm resolve. He had trusted in God, the work

was his, and the Lord was sure to be his strength. Well, indeed, might he have said with the Psalmist, when everything and every one seemed to thwart his designs, and to frown upon his purpose, "In te, Domine, speravi non confundar in æternum."

Ten years were thus wasted in vain and fruitless representations to the civil and religious authorities, both at home and abroad. At length, the difficulties seemed to give way: it was, however, only in appearance; for when Father Tierra and his friend, Father Kühno, arrived in Mexico, being led to suppose that they would succeed in their desires, their most earnest representations for permission to enter California, were met with a positive refusal, and they were obliged to return, the one, to his mission in the province of Pimeria, and the other, to the care of some novices at Tepozatlan.

So many obstacles thus thrown in his way, and such repeated refusals given, by those high in authority, would have deterred any ordinary mind; but, as the Father felt sure of his call, he was not to be intimidated, or driven from his purpose, by the most disheartening refusals, or the sternest opposition. He repeated his request to the Father-general of the society, earnestly soliciting permission to enter on the mission. The superior of the society, at that time, was Father Gonzales de

Santa Ella, a man of remarkable ability and virtue, whose learning, in the University of Salamanca, was as admired as his zeal for the conversion of the Moors was conspicuous. In him, Father Tierra found a sincere and devoted admirer and advocate. He was a man of a kindred mind, of the same mould and cast of character, learned, pious, zealous and trustful. Having had occasion to come over to Mexico at that time, after consulting with the Fathers, the possibility of converting the aborigines and of reducing the country, was, for the first time, deemed a practicable matter; permission was accordingly granted for undertaking the work. Thus, after several years of trial, disappointment and anxiety, during which, the faith and perseverance of the Fathers were rigorously tested, the holy and zealous Religious had the pleasure of seeing one of their most serious and formidable difficulties entirely removed. Another and almost equally formidable obstacle, however, still remained in their way; for Government was unwilling to supply the necessary means for undertaking the work. The meanness and impolicy of the civil authorities in refusing the missionaries the necessary means, after having previously promised them, cannot be too severely condemned. But what Government was unwilling to do, was done by the faith and pious liberality of the people.

On receiving permission from the General of the

society, to enter on the accomplishment of that work which in vain had occupied the attention of Government for close upon two hundred years, Father Tierra proceeded to Mexico to solicit the alms of the faithful, for the commencement of his enterprise. There he met with valuable aid in the person of Father Ugarte, professor of philosophy, and of whose missionary success we shall afterwards speak. As the success of the expedition depended not so much on the means requisite for enabling the missionaries to land in the country, as upon maintaining them in the field of their labors, a no very inconsiderable sum was required for the full accomplishment of the work. This, the liberality and munificence of the faithful supplied. Subscriptions to the amount of several thousand dollars were soon in the hands of Father Tierra. A government official, the Treasurer of Acapulco, aided the work with the gift of a vessel, and the loan of another; while the congregation of Our Lady of Dolores, in Mexico promised an annual sum of five hundred dollars as a subsistence for one mission. To this was added, by a virtuous priest of Queretaro, the munificent sum of twenty thousand crowns, as a fund for the establishment of two additional missions, with the further assurance, that he would honor any bills signed by the Fathers.

Matters being thus happily arranged and everything pointing in the direction of a prosperous

issue, the sanction of Government was sought and obtained for the expedition, though not without opposition on the part of some members of Council. The royal warrant empowering Fathers Kühno and Salva Tierra to take possession of California was issued on the 5th of February, on the following conditions: First, that they should not demand anything of Government or draw for any sums on the treasury without the express command of his Majesty; and, secondly, they were to take possession of the country in the name of the Sovereign. Both conditions were readily accepted by the Religious. By virtue of the commission they were empowered to enlist, appoint and maintain a certain number of soldiers and commanders, retaining in their hands the right of discharging them for offences or misdemeanors whenever necessity demanded it. In behalf of the soldiers it was ordained that they should enjoy the usual immunities as if serving under the crown, and that their services should be accounted the same as in war. Lastly, the power of appointing civil officials for the administration of justice and the internal management of the country was granted to the Fathers.

Father Tierra took his departure from Mexico on the 7th of February, two days after he had received his commission from Government. It was not, however, till the middle of October of the same year that he was able to sail on his voyage.

He was detained at the harbor of Hiaqui for several reasons, but especially awaiting the arrival of his friend and companion, Father Kühno, who was to join him in the work. But he having been unavoidably delayed on account of a rebellion which broke out at this particular time among the Indians, Father Tierra was necessitated to proceed on his voyage alone. His entire expedition amounted only to eight persons—five soldiers, including their commander, and three Indians—respectively from the provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora and Guadalaxara. Of the soldiers, one was a Creole, one a Maltese, a third a Sicilian, and the fourth a Peruvian mulatto. With this insignificant band the Father started on his voyage, and after a prosperous sail of three days, landed in California, in St. Denis' Bay, on the 19th of October, 1697, a day ever memorable in the annals of the Californian Church. A suitable place near the shore having been chosen for the encampment, the provisions, animals and baggage were landed from the vessel. Temporary barracks were erected for the soldiers, a hut served for a chapel, while the symbol of the Christian religion, decorated with garlands of flowers, was erected in a prominent position, never again to be removed from the land.

The immaculate Mother of God having been chosen patroness of the mission, her statue was brought in procession from the vessel and placed

in the church. Thus, under such humble, yet not entirely unfavorable auspices, was the first Catholic mission for the conversion of the Californian aborigines begun by the Rev. Father John Maria Salva Tierra of the Society of Jesus, on the 19th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1697. On the 25th of the same month possession was formally taken of the country by the Father, in the name of his majesty, Philip V.

Father Tierra, now finding himself alone in the field of his labors for which he had so long and so persistently petitioned, must naturally have felt the weight and responsibility of his position. Before him lay the whole of Lower and Upper California, with their thousands of barbarous inhabitants, for the conversion and civilization of whom he had entirely to rely on the mild and persuasive words of the gospel. For the accomplishment of his purpose he applied himself in the first instance to the acquisition of the vernacular. The difficulties he had to contend with, however, lay not entirely in his unacquaintance of the language. They were of a more formidable and exceptional character. To the rudeness, barbarity and ignorance of the people, the ordinary lot of every Apostle, was also to be added the still more formidable impediments—the rude and inhospitable nature of the country, to which is to be attributed the failure of so many and such important expeditions undertaken by Government and private specula-



Cleaning glass beads

San Joaquin Valley, California

tion during the century and a half previous. The difficulty, too, of obtaining through agents from the charity of the faithful what was denied them by Government as well as the very precarious arrival of the supplies, even when forwarded from Mexico, rendered the work obviously arduous in the extreme. But inasmuch as his mission was approved of by Heaven, difficulties were not suffered to interfere with its progress.

To obtain the more readily the affections of the inhabitants, Father Tierra had recourse in the first instance to those natural means best calculated to win the esteem of the savages. To this end he distributed daily amongst them a quantity of pozzoli, or rice, of which they were exceedingly fond, but on the condition of their learning some prayers and attending the catechism. This they continued to do for a time, but, liking the pozzoli better than the prayers, they sought for the one while they neglected the other. The Father's refusal to grant their request was near leading to the worst and most deplorable consequences. It so angered their feelings as to arouse all the savage characteristics of their nature, and they resolved to get possession of all by murdering the Father and his companions. In this they must necessarily have succeeded had not the providence of God interposed in behalf of the Christians. They had pitched upon the 31st of October for the accomplishment of their wicked design, but God, who is

ever present with his faithful apostles, defeated their purpose in the following remarkable manner:

One of their number, a chief, happening to be ill, and having formed the desire of dying a Christian, informed the Father of the people's intent, and thus enabled him to take the necessary precautionary measures. These measures, however, might have proved entirely inadequate had not the presence of a vessel in the harbor dispirited their numbers; but as the vessel made only a little delay they quickly resumed their former hostility. A fortnight was thus passed by the Father and his companions in the greatest trepidation and danger. Night and day they were constantly on guard expecting momentarily to be attacked by the savages. At length, on the 13th of November, the natives determined to carry out their design. The attack was commenced by a shower of stones and arrows from some five hundred Indians, who rushed upon the camp from different quarters. Then the great body advanced, shouting and vociferating most wildly, but they were presently repulsed by the bold and daring attitude of the Christians. It may, however, be more correct to identify the safety of the Father and his companions with the special protection of Heaven vouchsafed in so noble a cause, for otherwise it is difficult to see how some hundreds of exasperated savages would not have rushed upon that mere handful of Christians, or that some of their arrows

in whose use they were such experts, would not have proved fatal to the same.

A few effective shots from the beginning would, indeed, have gone far to dispirit their numbers; but as the Father would not permit them being fired on till matters came to the greatest extremity, the natives were emboldened, and the action continued for a couple of hours, when the whole body precipitately retired, but only to return with additional fury and additional numbers. The Christians, now finding themselves sore pressed by the enemy, were necessitated, unless they desired to part with their lives, to make use of the piece of artillery which they had in the camp; but unhappily, instead of being a means of defence it was well-nigh near being a cause of defeat, for bursting at the first shot it flew into several pieces, without, however, producing any more unfavorable result than that of frightening the garrison and encouraging the enemy.

The Indians, on noticing the result and seeing that no damage was caused to their numbers, concluded that as the cannon was ineffectual the muskets were doubly sure to be so, an opinion in which they were confirmed by reason of the fact that the soldiers were commanded by the Father to fire in the air, and not at the men. The attack, however, becoming more desperate, and the Father having barely escaped with his life, orders were given by the commander to fire upon the enemy,

when presently, terrified by the effects of the musketry, the assailants retired in disorder and betook themselves precipitately to flight.

The salutary effect of this lesson was quickly experienced by the Christians, for after a little a deputation, headed by one of the chiefs, waited on the garrison, declaring their sorrow for having attempted the lives of their benefactors. A little later on another deputation, consisting of women and children, arrived with a similar object. Father Tierra, it is hardly necessary to remark, received them with kindness and affection, and after pointing out to them the enormity of their crime, distributed among them several presents as a pledge of forgiveness. That night solemn thanksgiving was returned to God and the immaculate Virgin for the signal protection afforded the garrison on that trying occasion. On the following morning one of the vessels belonging to the mission, laden with provisions, arrived in the bay—a circumstance which added not a little to the general joy and rejoicing occasioned by the success in the attack of the natives. Father Tierra, thus seeing the protection of Heaven so manifestly vouchsafed to him in the victory and opportune arrival of the supplies, became doubly active in the discharge of his functions, relying in all things for success on the power and favor of Heaven.

The business of the mission was again regularly resumed; the storm had blown over; the natives

were returned, and everything looked cheerful and hopeful as before. Father Tierra now reaped the first fruit of his mission. The sick chief, of whom I have spoken above as having informed the Father of the intended attack on his life, was formally received into the church. The circumstances connected with his conversion were so remarkable that they deserve to be noticed. Ten years previous, during the time of Otando's expedition in the country, he had received a slight knowledge of the religion, but was not received into the church. Meantime, between then and the arrival of the Fathers, it pleased the Almighty to afflict him with an incurable disease—a terrible cancer, whose ravages were fortunately stayed till the coming of the missionaries. On learning of their landing he immediately hastened to their presence as speedily as possible, and had the double consolation of receiving the holy sacrament of baptism and of saving the lives of the Christians, as we have seen. His death was rendered still more consoling from the fact that he had the pleasure of seeing his children also received into the church. Two other children and an adult were likewise baptized at this time, to the great edification of the garrison and the consolation of the Fathers.

While matters were thus satisfactorily progressing, Father Tierra, was joined by his friend and co-laborer, Father Francis Piccolo, who had been detained at Hiaqui, on business. The new Father's

arrival brought the greatest consolation to the heart of the Apostle. Writing to a friend on the subject, he says: "I cannot express to you the comfort his coming has given me; not so much for my own person alone, as for the Spaniards and Indians; for the conversion of the latter has now an appearance of certainty. Henceforth, the standard of Christ will not be removed from these countries, and Mary will, undoubtedly, lay the foundation of her holy house among the elect."

In order to fortify themselves against any sudden attack on the part of the natives, as also to add more to their personal comfort, the Fathers and soldiers now began the erection of works of defence, and the enlargement of their dwellings. The former consisted of a trench and a palisade, drawn round the camp, and the latter of huts for the Religious and their companions. A little chapel, formed of clay and stone, with a thatched roof, was erected, under the patronage of the Virgin, and took the place of the tent which hitherto served for that purpose. In the interval between then and the great festival of Christmas, every preparation was made for the dedication of the little building, the first permanent one of the kind which had been erected on Californian soil. The pomp and ceremony usual on such occasions were, in great measure, compensated for by the number of masses, and the fervent devotion of the Christians.

Letters demanding an additional number of missionaries and troops, were forwarded at this juncture, to Mexico—a precaution, which, as far as the military were concerned, evinced a careful prudence and foresight on the part of the Fathers.

Up to this time, the general impression in the minds of the natives was, that the Spaniards had come to the coast with the object of fishing for pearls, and trading with the inhabitants. But when they came to find out that their purpose was of a different nature—the establishment of religion—their evil propensities were immediately awakened, and a bitter antipathy created in their minds against the Religious and their doctrines. The teachers, whose authority and gains had suffered by the influence of the Fathers, were not wanting in magnifying the causes of discontent, and thereby succeeded in increasing the rancor of the people. At the same time, a part of the people was strongly inclined to the Fathers, but the majority was on the side of the sorcerers. Their frequent and bitter complaints, at last took the shape of open hostilities. After destroying a boat belonging to the mission, a large number of them encountered a few of the troops; but, as in the former engagement, were speedily routed; and, what was of still greater importance, seemed to recognize, in their defeat, their utter inability to conquer the Christians.

The captain of the Europeans was for making an example of the leaders, but the Father in whose hands the entire control of the garrison was placed, would not listen to the proposal. He had come to preach the gospel of the New Law—to set an example of patience, forbearance, and forgiveness of injuries—and could not see the propriety of punishing even the guilty. On seeing an apparent repentance on the part of the savages, he granted them a general pardon and forgiveness of the past. This generous and ready forgiveness on the part of the Father shows the true character of the man, and the spirit by which he was animated, in the same manner as the revolt of the natives reveals to the reader one of the numerous obstacles and difficulties he had to contend with, in establishing the faith in the country. The savage character is, in many things, puerile. It is that of the child—fickle, volatile and impetuous, easily roused, violent and unreasoning, but presently returning to duty upon an exercise of authority.

Six months had already gone by, since the Fathers had landed. It was now the month of April, that part of the ecclesiastical year, observed all over the Catholic world with such fervor and solemnity. Those who have had the happiness of being in Rome, or in any of the other Catholic capitals of Europe, during the week preceding the great festival of Easter, must have been deeply

impressed with the solemnity and impressiveness of the Catholic ritual. But, on the Californian coast a century and a half since, when Christianity was only barely struggling into existence, little could be expected. A mud chapel, with a thatched roof, and little or no interior decorations, was badly suited to elevate the mind and impress the audience with the solemnity of the occasion. Yet it was, we are told, with inexpressible amazement that the Indians beheld, for the first time, in Father Tierra's little church, the ceremonies of Holy Week. The plaintive chant, the numerous lights, the sacred vestments, and the pious demeanor of the Christians, struck them with awe, and inclined them most favorably toward our holy religion.

The evil disposition of the people in general, as shown in the late attempts on the lives of the Christians, were largely compensated for by the piety and devotion of some of the children. "Such boys and girls," writes Father Tierra, in a letter to one of his companions, "as were catechumens, and had been instructed in the prayers, and other devotional exercises, drew tears from my eyes, particularly a little boy called Juanico Cavallero, not yet four years of age, who, with his little shell on his head and his wand in his hand, conducted the questions, putting his little finger to his mouth when any one talked or did anything wrong. Sometimes he would take the rosa-

ries and reliquaries of the soldiers, then fall on his knees and devoutly kiss them, and put them to his little eyes, and bid all to do likewise, and, if any one did not take notice, it vexed him to such a degree that he was not to be quieted till the offender fell on his knees and kissed a rosary or reliquary, while all blessed the devout importunity of the child."

The Fathers had two great sources of trial at this time well calculated to test their faith and confidence in God and his Blessed Mother, under whose powerful patronage the mission was placed. The first was the abrupt and entirely unexpected departure of the natives Catechumens and others from the Mission, the cause of which, for the time, was unknown to the missionaries. They had gone into the interior for the gathering of the pithahayas, of which I have spoken above, and which usually occurred in the months of June and July. The second was the fear of being obliged to perish of want, their entire stock of provisions being reduced to three sacks of maggoty maize, and three of badly-ground corn. As the vessel they had dispatched for supplies had been entirely over her time, a circumstance easily accounted for by the late tempestuous state of the weather, to which her certain destruction had been attributed by their terrified imaginations, little or no hope was entertained by any of a speedy relief; and all, as a necessary consequence, looked forward with

the greatest apprehension to what seemed to them their deplorable but inevitable end.

The Fathers, while accepting with humility and resignation as the will of Divine Providence their critical condition, never failed to exhort those under their charge to faith and confidence in God; yet, so if necessity demanded it, to die cheerfully in the cause of religion. A more trying and perilous condition does not often fall to the lot of the missionary in a foreign land. On a barren, inhospitable coast, deprived of almost all the necessities of life, and their own and the lives of their fellow companions resting on the slender probability of the safe arrival of a vessel within a few days! It is only in the greatest of peril and need that the Christian virtues appear entirely to advantage. Faith, hope, and confidence are ever sure to bring their reward. The mission had been placed under the auspices of the glorious Mother of God, she was its patron and protectress; why not, therefore, supplicate her to hasten the propitious arrival of the supplies? The proposal was agreeable to all; and, while each encouraged his neighbor to die cheerfully in the cause of religion, should the sacrifice be demanded, a nine days devotion in honor of the immaculate Virgin was immediately begun. It is hardly necessary to mention that the fervor and earnestness of their supplications increased as their stock of provisions ran low. Peril is oftentimes the greatest stimulant to piety. The man who is

oblivious of his Maker in the time of prosperity, thinks of Him in the hour of adversity.

The first days of the exercises are passed, but no relief is obtained. The chances of life are daily and hourly growing slenderer and slenderer; at length the end of the provisions is reached. Every face is then turned to the sea. It must be presently one thing or the other—either immediate relief or speedy death. Mary must either hear their prayers and obtain their release, or she must close her ears against their earnest and continuous cries. The latter she is unable to do, charity forbids it. The nine days devotions are not yet ended, but yonder, on the “deep, blue sea,” the aid is seen. It is, it is a sail! The vessel is heaving to! and now, ye faint-hearted, desponding Christians, why did you doubt? Did you not know the Saviour’s word: “Amen, amen, I say to you; if you ask the Father anything in my name, he will give it to you.” Did ye not know, too, the words of Bernard, Mary’s greatest servant: “It was never known, in any age, that those who implored thy aid, sought thy protection, or solicited thy mediation, did so in vain.”

The day on which the vessel arrived was the twenty-first of June, the festival of St. Lewis of Gonzaga. She brought, together with a large and ample supply of provisions, seven volunteer soldiers, whose pious dispositions had prompted them to offer their services to the Fathers.

The missionaries being now tolerably acquainted with the vernacular, and having abundant supplies for several months, deemed it advisable to take a general survey of the country, and to enter, if possible, into friendly relations with the different tribes, with the view of establishing missions among them. In accordance with this resolution, Father Tierra, accompanied by some of his men, proceeded some distance into the interior, to where they had learned some of the natives were residing. Upon seeing the Father and his party, the Indians became so alarmed that they immediately took to the woods, and remained out of sight so long as the Christians remained in the place.

The following Spring the Father revisited the tribe, and with better success, for their fears being allayed from what they had learned from their brethren in the interval, they received him with kindness and listened attentively while he spoke to them on matters of religion. The kindness and benevolence he evinced in their regard were soon talked of in the different tribes, and amongst others, drew to the garrison a clan, or rancheria, from a place called Vigge Biabundo, situated at a considerable distance from the mission. Their object was to make the acquaintance of the Religious, and to invite them to visit their country. One of their number, a youth of remarkable promise, showed such an admirable disposition that he was admit-

ted to baptism, and shortly after one of the Fathers visited the tribe in their home. They received him with the greatest affection and kindness, and supplied him with all the requirements their poverty permitted.

During the days he remained in the camp, the news of his arrival having spread through the neighboring tribes, he was visited by Indians from different parts, but as far as his mission was concerned he was unable to do more than to make their acquaintance and promise to return on a future occasion. And it is to be borne in mind that his object in thus casually visiting the tribes was none other than that of determining the favorable disposition of the people and the facilities the locality afforded of forming a permanent settlement there. As will be seen in a subsequent page, several missions and rancherias were attended from the principal settlements: they were what at present would be regarded as out-stations. The requirements indispensably necessary for the establishment of missions in any part of the country were fertile, well-watered valleys, and extensive pasturage for black cattle and horses.

The result of the Father's exertions during this visit was the baptism of several children and the instruction of a large number of adults, in whose hearts the first seeds of the gospel were happily sown. But as that part of the country was not well suited for agricultural purposes, Father Tierra

shortly after returned to the garrison at Loretto, the name given to the mission already established; thence he despatched his co-laborer, Father Piccolo, to the country of the Viggi, with the view of forming a second mission. Father Piccolo commenced the good work by constructing a few little huts for himself and his followers, for it is to be remembered that there was not a house, properly so called, in the entire country. The labor and inconvenience the erection of the buildings entailed on him may be judged from the fact that he had not only to direct but to lead in their construction as well in preparing the mud, raising the walls, hewing the wood, and roofing and thatching the building. But of what consequence was labor or inconvenience to such a man when the kingdom of God was to be promoted thereby? The truly apostolic missionary is ever ready to sacrifice his comfort, convenience, liberty, yea, even life, for the advancement of the interests of religion. It is the same noble, generous spirit—the desire of winning souls to the Redeemer—that prompts one to live amid the glaciers of the north, and another under the burning suns of the south—that induces one to adopt the habits of the wandering tribe, and another to settle down in the humble cot on the coast.

Three years had now elapsed since the landing of the expedition, and already the second mission was founded under the patronage of the great

apostle of the Indies. There are no means of determining exactly how many conversions were made up to this period; but, from the happy results which attended the Fathers' exertions later on, it is not unreasonable to suppose that even the first years of their apostolic career were marked with considerable success. The chief work, however, which occupied them at the outset was the preparation of the people for the future reception of the gospel.

The joy the missionaries experienced in thus far accomplishing the work of their master was embittered by the narrowness of the circumstances to which they were reduced, having out of their meager supplies to provide for the necessities of a large number of followers—six hundred in all—both Spaniards and natives.

CHAPTER XII.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE MISSIONARIES AT FIRST. — THEY PETITION THE VICEROY FOR AID. — THEY ARE ACCUSED OF AVARICE. — THEIR JUSTIFICATION. — ORDERS TO THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT, BY PHILIP V., IN FAVOR OF THE FATHERS. — PREJUDICE AGAINST THE RELIGIOUS. — THEY PROVE CALIFORNIA TO BE A PENINSULA. — REVOLT OF THE INDIANS OF VIGGE BIABUNDO. — MODE OF LIFE AT THE MISSIONS. FATHER KUHN'S TREATMENT OF A REFRACTORY INDIAN. — HIS SUCCESS IN RECLAIMING THE PEOPLE. — MASSACRE OF THE CHRISTIANS AT THE MISSION OF ST. XAVIER. — PUNISHMENT OF THE MURDERERS.

THE numerous and expensive wars in which Spain was engaged, from the accession of Philip II. till the reign of Charles III., is put forward by some, as a palliation for the constant neglect with which that country treated the missionaries, while laboring to extend the limits of her possessions in this part of the world. The Mexican authorities, too, naturally anxious to hasten to the relief of the monarch, in all his embarrassments, forwarded to Europe, to be employed for purposes of ambition and vanity—instead of expending on the requirements of the province those considerable sums poured into the treasury by Cortes, Pizarro and Almagro. The natural consequence of this shortsighted policy, was the discouragement of every generous effort for the national interests of the New World, as is clearly evinced in the treatment the missionaries received at the hands of the Mexican officials.

During the first years of their labors, not having yet obtained any important subsistence from the country, they had to rely, almost entirely, for their supplies on the vessels belonging to the missions. But, as these were of the poorest description, consisting only of three rickety barks, in which, any one careful of his life, would be unwilling to sail, their lives were oftentimes placed in the most imminent danger. One of them, the *San Fermin*, shortly after ran aground and was lost, on the Mexican coast. To meet the emergency, Father Tierra respectfully petitioned the viceroy, requesting him to bestow on the mission a vessel, to be speedily dispatched to the relief of the settlers. He also took occasion to point out to his excellency, the well-grounded hopes there were of the entire submission of the country to the gospel of Christ, and the dominion of His Catholic Majesty. The principal point, however, in his address, was the very imminent peril in which the settlers were placed; unless immediate relief was sent to their aid. So urgent and reasonable a request, one would have thought, ought to have met with a ready response; but the only reception it found at the hands of the authorities, was silence on the part of the viceroy, and calumny on the side of his subordinates. For what reasons, it would be difficult to determine, except from the promptings of an utterly malevolent mind, the Fathers were accused of dishonesty, and

charged with the loss of the vessel. By the destruction of the San Fermin, the Religious, it was said, were entertaining a hope of establishing a claim on the royal exchequer.

Such was the manner in which the faith, labors and exertions of these generous and self-sacrificing men were shamefully rewarded by their country and king. Thoroughly devoted to the interests of religion and the crown, they had left their friends, their homes and their brethren, and come to these barren, inhospitable shores, in order to plant the Cross in the country—to teach the people the way of salvation, and thereby to gain them to God and the State. And, while nobly and generously applying themselves to these laudable ends, amid a thousand dangers, privations and sufferings, the only reward they received from their own, was coldness, ingratitude and calumny. But this was not without a purpose on the part of the Almighty: the work of God is ever known by tribulation. It was in suffering and sorrow that the first foundations of the Church were laid. In establishing His kingdom upon earth, the Son of God drank deep of the cup of affliction, and all who come after him must be prepared for the same.

More with the view of removing the stigma from the members of the society than from any care of himself, Father Tierra forwarded letters to Mexico, establishing the accidental loss of the ves-

sel, and clearing himself of any collusion in the matter. These letters, it is consoling to think, were sufficient to disabuse the authorities of the injustice of the charge, but failed to move them in aid of the settlers. Although the critical state of the garrison demanded the speediest aid, all that could be obtained from the Mexican Government was, that the matter would be referred to the Court of Madrid, and his majesty's pleasure solicited! Even at the loss to the crown of the country and the colonists, the old, hereditary, stately routine, was not to be infringed.

During the years 1698 and 1699, favorable accounts of the Fathers' endeavors had been forwarded by the viceroy to his majesty in council. The death of Charles II., at this critical moment, diverted the minds of the authorities from Californian affairs, and thus prevented any succor being granted. On the accession of Philip V., orders were sent to the Mexican Government, strongly in favor of the missionaries, ordering that all their requirements should be supplied, and that an annual sum of six thousand dollars be paid for the support of the garrison. This was the first aid received by the Fathers from the authorities. Another warrant was also issued, at this time, by her majesty, Mary of Savoy, in favor of the Religious:

“The King and Queen Regent, to the Duke of Albuquerque, my cousin, Governor and Captain-General of the province of New Spain, and President of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, etc.:

“ The Provincial of the Society of the Jesuits, in the province of Toledo, has represented to me that it is now some five years since some missionaries of his order undertook the spiritual and temporal conquest of the Californias; and that, in August of last year (1701), they had reduced the Indians, for the space of fifty leagues, to a settled obedience, and founded four towns, with above six hundred Christians, most of them young, and no less than two thousand adult catechumens,” etc.

From this the reader may learn the result of the Fathers’ exertions during the first years of their missionary labors, even while thwarted by Government, and calumniated by foes.

The Mexican authorities being engaged at this time in prosecuting a war for the subjugation of Florida and Texas, found means of neglecting the royal instructions, on the plea of inability to furnish such a considerable sum. The true cause, however, would seem to have been the antipathy that existed in the minds of the civil authorities against the Religious. Short-sighted, worldly-minded, indifferent religionists, could never conceive how any, even those dedicated to the immediate service of God, would willingly expose themselves to continual dangers, privation and suffering, without the hope of an earthly reward. And, as in the former expeditions undertaken at the expense of the crown, many were raised to a position of affluence, either by fishing, or trading for

pearls, or by moneys received from the royal exchequer, it was freely concluded that the labors of the Fathers were not entirely directed to the glory of God, in the conversion of the natives. Even modern writers, whose means of knowing the truth have been all that could be reasonably desired, have unhappily indulged in similar ideas, and thus perpetuated the calumny against the Religious. As an instance, the following may be taken as an example: "In order to prevent the Court of Spain from conceiving any jealousy of their designs and operations, they seem studiously to have depreciated the country, by representing the climate as so disagreeable and unwholesome, and the soil as so barren, that nothing but a zealous desire of converting the natives could have induced them to settle there."¹ As a Protestant and a foreigner, little else could be expected from the Principal of the Edinburgh University; but, inasmuch as he goes out of his way to misrepresent the statement of a Catholic writer, he shows the motive by which he was influenced. Father Miguel Venegas, on whose authority he has stated the above, has not a word about the insalubrity or unwholesomeness of the climate, as stated by Robertson.²

As error is more readily credited and propagated than truth, the evil report no sooner got

(1) *Hist. America*: Robertson, book 7, p. 75.

(2) *Venegas*: vol. I., p. 26.

abroad than many believed, because the Fathers were masters of the country, they must necessarily be in the possession of fabulous wealth. The former accounts of the country, and the really valuable pearls that had been obtained by several persons, augmented and confirmed these malicious reports. Nor, indeed, would this be so much to be lamented had it not tended from the outset to materially injure religion by cooling the ardor and fervor of those who were so liberally contributing in behalf of the missions. The natural consequence attending the decrease of the pious donations on the part of the faithful, was the utter inability of the missionaries to maintain any longer in the country the European portion of the community. Hence, with the exception of a dozen soldiers, who voluntarily remained as a guard that the Fathers might not be entirely abandoned, the others were ordered to return to Mexico. At the same time the baptism of the catechumens was deferred, nothing being certain regarding the future of the mission. The perilous and utterly destitute state of the missionaries at this juncture may be judged from the following extract of a letter from Father Tierra—the superior of the mission—to his friend, the Solicitor of Guadalajara. After acquainting him with the discharge of the soldiers, and the reasons which necessitated it, he adds: “But for the discharge of the remainder I only await the resolution of the Mexican Council, to

which I have sent my final appeal. After the entire withdrawal of the soldiers we shall consult about liquidating the arrears; and if, for want of a military force, our Californian sons should send us to give an account to our God, our Lady of Loretto will undoubtedly look to our debts."

All hope of Government aid being now entirely precarious, while the wants of the garrisons became more urgently pressing, Father Ugarte, the agent of the missions at Mexico, collected what private contributions he could and hastened to the relief of his brethren, whom he found in the utmost despondency and want. Three days after his arrival they were further relieved by the arrival of a vessel laden with provisions, which he had dispatched to their aid a little before.

The slowness and indifference of Government in supplying the Fathers with the necessary means of support; the growing apathy and lukewarmness of the subscribers, on account of the above mentioned reason, as well as the difficulty, delay and uncertainty of obtaining provisions from the opposite coast, compelled the venerable missionaries to seek other and more reliable means of support. At the opposite side of the Gulf, in the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa, where missions were established, the land was partially tilled. There were also in that region several mines wherein Spaniards were employed. To this, though a poor and unreliable source, Father Tierra turned his

eyes when all other means were denied. Landing on the opposite coast he hastened, without any delay, to join his brother Religious, Father Kühno, who, as we have seen in a previous chapter, in common with Fathers Copart and Goni, had laid the foundations of the Californian missions. Like Father Tierra, Father Kühno was a man of the most generous mind and the noblest ideas. The spiritual conquest of the natives as far north as the present limits of Upper California was the holy and praiseworthy design of those zealous, indefatigable souls. That they did not accomplish the whole of their purpose is not to be attributed to them as a fault, but to the impolicy and injustice of Government in driving them from the country at a moment when their influence was being extensively felt, and when they had a well-grounded hope of accomplishing all.

As the spiritual conquest of California was as much an object of desire to the one as the other of these venerable men, it may be easily imagined how readily the latter entered into the feelings of the former, and hastened with all his endeavors to supply the wants of his brethren. But, as the cause of the distress was likely to remain unless other and more precautionary measures were taken, it was proposed to open a means of communication by land with the missions on both sides of the Gulf. But, as it was not then very certainly known that California was a peninsula, it was re-

solved that Father Kühno should make an examination of the coast, and establish beyond doubt the fact of its being a portion of the main land or not. Father Tierra was also to accompany him on the journey. On the 1st of March, 1701, they started on their expedition, and after a march of twenty days arrived at the junction of the land.

Satisfied with the object of their inquiry, they returned, the one to his mission in Sonora, and the other to collect funds for his Californian brethren; a work in which he was engaged for some weeks, when he returned to his people. The joy occasioned by the Father's arrival at the garrison with the opportune aid, was speedily followed by the darkest and most gloomy forebodings. Indeed, it appeared to be the lot of these venerable men to be ever destined to suffer from one cause or another. Coldness, indifference and neglect were, as we have seen, the reward they received from the Government; misrepresentation and calumny from their secular brethren, and dangers and perils from the natives. Well, indeed, might they say with the Apostle: "In journeying often, in perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils from my own nation; in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils from false brethren."¹

When their lives were not threatened by famine,

(1) *Second Cor.*: chap. xi, v. 26.

they were in danger from Indians, and that not unfrequently at times when the means at their disposal seemed utterly inadequate to avert the calamity. In the newly-formed mission of Vigge Biabundo, the natives, instigated by the sorcerers, resolved upon murdering the Father, and destroying the settlement; in this they were fortunately disappointed by the resistance they met with from some of their own, who remained faithful to the Fathers. On a second attempt, however, they unhappily succeeded in destroying the church and the presbytery; losses which, though very considerable, were only a trifle when compared with the safety of the Religious. As this Mission was regarded by the Fathers as very important, the land there being remarkably adapted to agricultural purposes, it was deemed proper, and in some measure necessary, to restore it to its former condition. Its reorganization was intrusted to the care of the the Rev. Father Ugarte, as Father Piccolo had to proceed to New Spain on business connected with the mission.

To secure himself against any sudden attack, he deemed it advisable to take with him as a guard some of the troops; but, as these became troublesome and insolent, he dispensed with their services, and committed himself entirely to the protection of Providence, a proceeding which at once reveals his strong confidence in God, and his great zeal for the salvation of the people. The

natives on seeing the soldiers, imagining they had come to punish their crime, fled precipitately to the mountains, but when the military had departed, they returned gradually to the mission, and after a little, the Father had the pleasure of seeing himself surrounded by the former congregation, many of whom had unhappily the weakness of joining the gentiles in their attack on the church. In reorganizing the mission, Father Ugarte had a double object in view. The first was to instill into the minds of the savages an elementary notion of the Christian religion, by inducing them to be present at the offices of religion; second, to accustom them to the cultivation of the land and the tending of the flocks, for he saw that the success of the missions, as a whole, and, indeed, for that matter, the introduction of Christianity into the country at all, depended exclusively on the internal resources of the peninsula, and not being necessitated to rely upon precarious supplies from the coast of New Spain.

Up to this period, it is important to know that nothing was raised in the country; the clothes and provisions requisite for the settlers being brought from the opposite coast, a course which was frequently attended with danger and delay. Nor must it be supposed that the Fathers were at fault in not attending to this want, for, at the mission of Loretto, the ground was so unsuited for tillage, that, with the exception of a garden for

vegetables, they were unable to raise any crops; while, as regarded the other localities, the natives were unwilling at first to labor at their request. It was, then, to supply this serious defect, and thus place the mission on something like a permanent basis, that Father Tierra sought to accustom the people to work; but as his individual labors directed to this end would be only of trifling account, unless joined by the Indians, he was necessitated to use every means in his power to gain them over to his views.

For the accomplishment of this, there was required all the prudence and zeal of an Apostle, for the sloth and indifference of the people were most difficult to overcome. An idea of the Father's exertions and difficulties may be had from the following: In the morning, after the holy sacrifice of the Mass, at which all were required to be present, he distributed the pozzoli, and set the people to work. Some were appointed for clearing and preparing the ground; others were engaged in making the flumes for the conveyance of water; while others, again, were allotted for digging the soil and planting the trees. To secure a uniform attention, and induce all to engage in their respective employments, the Father had to give the example, and continue engaged, else they would presently slacken, and lapse into their accustomed indifference and natural sloth. In reality, the missionary was the hardest and severest

worked member of the community. Now, he was to be seen fetching the stones for the building, mixing the mortar, or hewing the wood; again, digging the ground, splitting the rocks, or herding the cattle. He had to teach by example rather than precept; nor was this always sufficient, for, owing to the very limited ideas of the people, and the natural dullness of their understanding, joined to their constitutional sloth, and abhorrence of work, they could not or would not enter entirely into his views. So great was the difficulty he had to encounter, in this particular alone, that nothing but the most apostolic virtue, the greatest meekness, affability and gravity, could enable him to keep them together. Repeatedly would they violate every rule set for their observance, either by coming too late, refusing to do what was commanded, or running away when it suited their purpose; while some went even so far as to conspire against the life of the venerable man. But patience, meekness and zeal, finally overcame their evil propensities, and succeeded in forming them into an obedient, docile and tractable people.

Life at the mission, in those days, was simple and uniform. The mornings were spent as has been related. In the evening, after the labors were ended, all the community, native and European, Christian and catechumen, assembled in the church for evening devotions; which consisted of the ordinary prayers, the rosary, and an explana-

tion of some point of our holy religion; after which they retired for the night. At first, the conduct of the natives, during the catechetical instruction, was anything but respectful. The mistakes, into which the Father was accustomed to fall, in the pronunciation of the vernacular, were the cause of their mirth; which, when he came to understand, he readily corrected the defects. In the beginning, however, he attributed their merriment to a different cause; and, as they were not to be restrained by entreaties, he determined to see what impression a lesson of fear might produce. Near him, and among the most troublesome during the sermon, was a chief, remarkable for his great physical strength and for his authority among the people. Leaning over the pulpit, Father Ugarte, who was a powerful man, seized the chief by the hair of the head, lifted him from the ground, and swung him from side to side, in the presence of the people—a proceeding which so alarmed the people as to produce the contemplated effect.

In a few years, this venerable missionary had the gratification of witnessing the first fruits of his labors. Many were brought to a knowledge of the Christian religion—reclaimed from their wild and barbarous state, and brought to live without any of the disorders or irregularities which had hitherto marked their existence. On the other hand, he had succeeded in supplying all their tem-

poral wants, with plentiful harvests of different cereals—a result not easily appreciated, considering the barrenness of the soil of Lower California, and the very inhospitable character of the country in general; which, even yet, under modern skill and modern appliances, has failed to produce any important supplies. The Father's energy and ability also enabled him to produce considerable quantities of wine, a portion of which he exported to New Spain, in exchange for the more necessary articles. Still remaining was another requirement. Those who had hitherto roamed naked through the land had to be provided with clothes and thus taught the first elementary principles of virtue and civilization. To this end, in order to provide them with the necessary garments, he imported a number of sheep from the opposite coast. The preparation of the wool, the spinning and weaving of it into pieces, and its further adaptation to the requirements of the people, were entirely his work. He it was who formed the distaffs, the wheels, the looms, and everything connected with the manufacture of the cloth. If later on, he saw the advantage and importance of employing mechanical aid, for forwarding and improving so beneficial a scheme, the credit is no less due to himself, for having originated the work and brought it to tolerable perfection.

The zeal and assiduity of Father Ugarte in thus providing for the material requirements of the

people is deserving of the highest commendation, not merely because of the works in themselves as showing forth his charity and benevolence of purpose, but especially because of their close and intimate connection with the existence and progress of religion in the country. The great evil, as has been remarked, under which the first missions had to labor was the want of the necessary means of support—a difficulty which could only be successfully combated by producing the requisite supplies within the peninsula itself. This was the more plainly to be seen during the years 1701 and 1702, when, in consequence of an unusual drought, and the failure of the arrival of the expected provisions, the mission was placed in the most imminent danger. At first the garrison had to exist on limited fare, but when all was consumed they were necessitated to live on the little the country afforded—roots, berries and shell-fish. As an aggravation of their misfortune an insurrection broke out among the Indians, by which the lives of the Spaniards were placed in the most imminent danger.

The mission of Father Piccolo to New Spain, of which I have spoken above, was not without its important advantages. By his frequent and earnest representations he succeeded in obtaining from Government the payment of the sum assigned by his Majesty for the conquest of the country and also the establishment by private donations of

four additional missions. The great number of missionaries then required for the missions of Mexico and New Spain prevented him from obtaining more than two additional laborers for the Californian coast. The arrival of the Father with his confreres, on the 28th of October, changed the entire aspect of affairs, and infused new life into the garrison and the Spaniards in general. The opportune presence of a friend is never so acceptable and calculated to elicit an exuberance of joy as when life and religion are made to depend upon his arrival.

With their new reinforcements and the promises made by the members of Government, their hopes were increased and their fears almost entirely allayed. They accordingly entered upon larger and higher designs for the conversion of the people. In a council held on the occasion it was determined that Father Ugarte should proceed to New Spain for the purchase of cattle to be employed in the service of the mission for journeying to the different stations, as well as for supplying the necessary means of support. Meantime Father Tierra, accompanied by some of his men, made excursions into the interior seeking new tribes and localities suitable for the establishment of missions. The greater part of the country he found to be uninhabited, but in one particular locality they came upon a body of the natives, who, no sooner observed them, than they precipitately fled from their

presence. In another part of the mountains, about a hundred miles from the mission, they came on another rancheria, or camp, where the people in like manner mistaking their intention, regarded them at first in the character of enemies, and prepared to defend themselves against their apparent hostility; but, on learning their real intention and the true nature of their visit, they presently changed their attitude of defiance and received them with kindness and affection.

The reader will not have forgotten that the second establishment formed by the Fathers was the mission of St. Xavier, in the country of the Viggi. This mission, as has been related, was destroyed by the savages, but re-established under considerable difficulty by the zealous and untiring exertions of the Rev. Father Ugarte. Its subsequent flourishing state, however,—the quiet and steady progress made by the Father in reclaiming the people and the soil—was no sufficient protection against ultimate dangers. The fickleness and inconstancy of the savages were ever a subject of alarm for the Religious. No amount of kindness, benevolence and sacrifice procured them an immunity against sudden attacks. Instigated by the evil advice of the leader of the former rebellion, a body of the Pagans fell suddenly upon the mission, and massacred all who happened to fall in their way. To look on with indifference and allow such an act of wanton barbarity to pass without its merited pun-

ishment, would be under the circumstances entirely impolitic and highly injurious to the interests of religion; for, if the immediate result of embracing the Christian religion was imminent, or probable danger of death, the progress of truth was certain to be seriously injured. It was therefore resolved that an example should be made of the rebels, and that they be taught to understand that their murderous deeds would not be permitted to pass without an adequate punishment. Pursuant to this resolution the Pagans were surprised in their camp, and some of them made to suffer for the cruel and barbarous massacre of the Christians. The leader artfully managed to escape for the moment, but was afterward taken and given up to the authorities, by whom he was made to suffer the penalty of death for his crime—a punishment certainly not beyond his deserts when it is remembered that he had several times compassed the death of the Father and his followers; that he was the author of the destruction of the chapel and mission in the first instance, and had finally excited his countrymen to fall upon and massacre all the Christian communities. It is only just, however, to the memory of the Fathers to state that they had no hand in his death; they even pleaded for his life, begging that the sentence might be changed into banishment from the country, but to this the military commander was unwilling to listen—a course which the circumstances

seem to have demanded. The consequence of this merited chastisement was the peace of the missions and the security of the Christians for a considerable time.

During the tranquillity that succeeded this violent outburst on the part of the Pagans, new and favorable opportunities were offered the Fathers for extending the field of their labors. The evil dispositions of some was no reason why the Religious should slacken in their endeavors to gain the country to God. The truly zealous and apostolic missionary is not checked in his career of benevolence by the crimes and atrocities of the multitude. New missions had already to be founded, the old ones were not sufficiently accessible to all; religion had to be presented to every tribe; and in order to this, the Fathers examined the country in every direction, with the view of determining the most eligible places for the foundation of the contemplated missions. While thus prosecuting their pious intentions, an occurrence took place which, while it afforded an opportunity for an exercise of Christian benevolence, proved very embarrassing to the Religious.

In order to avoid a series of inconveniences foreseen by the missionaries, it had been strictly prohibited to all without a license from Government and the sanction of the local authorities, to resort to the California coast for the purpose of fishing for pearls. Contrary to this positive order, some bold

and adventurous spirits were found to embark in the work; and, in a storm which happened at the time, it occurred that some of their number were wrecked on the coast; a circumstance which, while it necessitated the exercise of charity, so crippled the Fathers' resources, at best only limited, as to reduce them to a very inadequate quantity. This was at the close of 1703. The following year opened upon the Religious with the gloomiest and most anxious forebodings. Father Piccolo did what lay in his power, by forwarding supplies from the opposite coast, but his efforts were entirely inadequate to provide for such a considerable number.

Meantime, another of the Religious, Father Bas-saldua, proceeded to Mexico, to solicit the aid of the Government authorities, but in this he was doomed to disappointment. The year previous, a memorial had been presented to the Court of Madrid, setting forth the spiritual and temporal advantages to be gained by the missions, and requesting his Majesty to encourage the work. The memorial was read before the council of ministers, and resulted most favorably for the Fathers. On the twenty-eighth of September, 1703, the royal signature was put to the warrant, of which the following is the substance. By the first clause of the document, it was ordered that the supplies hitherto granted to the missions of Sinaloa and Sonora, on the opposite coast, be henceforth trans-

ferred to the California missions. The second made provision for the furnishing of the necessary articles required for the use of the Religious in the newly-erected missions. By the third, the viceroy was commanded to establish on the coast, as far north as was possible, a military post, with the view of protecting the Philippine vessels, which, as we have stated, were the great object of British buccaneer ambition in those days. Lastly, a vessel was ordered to be purchased for the use of the mission, and an annual sum of seven thousand dollars to be paid out of the treasury of Guadalaxara, independent of the six thousand dollars already assigned for that purpose. The other terms of the warrant were merely of a congratulatory nature, and, as such, deserve no particular mention. The authorities in Mexico received the instructions on the eleventh of April, 1704, but faithful to their hereditary policy, they were not wanting in finding means to evade them, though, on the mere ground of humanity, independent of his Majesty's pleasure, they were bound to have hastened to the relief of their Californian brethren. On the plea of being obliged to employ the resources at the disposal of government on works of greater importance, the claims and the cries of the perishing settlers were entirely unheeded by the Mexican government.

CHAPTER XIII.

CRITICAL CONDITION OF THE FATHERS FOR WANT OF PROVISIONS.—
 ARRIVAL OF SUPPLIES.—DEDICATION OF THE CHURCH OF LORETTO.
 —FATHER TIERRA APPOINTED VISITOR OF THE MISSIONS OF SONORA
 AND SINALOA.—UNGENEROUS ACTION OF THE MEXICAN GOVERN-
 MENT.—THE DUKE OF LINARES.—DIFFICULTIES IN ESTABLISHING
 NEW MISSIONS.—FATHER JOHN UGARTE'S ZEAL FOR THE CONVER-
 SION OF THE PEOPLE.—HE SURVEYS THE COAST.—LOSS OF A
 VESSEL.—PREJUDICE OF THE NATIVES AGAINST THE FATHERS.

THE close of the seventeenth and the commence-
 ment of the eighteenth centuries were perilous
 periods in the history of Spain. The death of
 Charles II., in 1700, and his appointment of Philip
 of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., as sole heir to
 the Spanish dominions, involved the nation in a
 long and expensive war. England, Germany and
 Holland opposed the arrangement, and contested
 the validity of Charles' will, but eventually came
 to acknowledge the claims of the Sovereign. Dur-
 ing the entire period that the struggle was con-
 tinued, his Majesty stood in need of all the re-
 sources at the command of the crown. It is only
 reasonable to suppose that the Mexican govern-
 ment was anxious to render all the assistance in
 its power, by contributing as largely as its re-
 sources would permit. Hence the neglect of Cal-
 ifornian interests, though it is also equally true
 that the jealousy and antipathy of ministers had

something to do in withholding the necessary aid. Be it, however, attributable to one cause or the other, neither of which is a justification of the Government's course, the result was equally unhappy to the well-being of the missions.

As an aggravation of the Christians' misfortunes, at this particular time the vessels which were dispatched to the Mexican coast for a supply of provisions, were obliged to return, on account of the boisterous state of the sea. The utter destitution to which this unexpected event finally reduced the entire garrison, made it a matter of consideration with the Fathers whether they should not return the troops, and rely for their own personal subsistence on the protection of Him who provides for the wants and requirements of all. As far as the Religious themselves were concerned, having come to the country to labor, and, if necessary, to die for the savages, they were determined under the most unfavorable circumstances to remain with their people. But such a resolution, however laudable and praiseworthy, was not to be forced on the members of the garrison, inasmuch as it would deprive them of the glory and merit of dying in so noble a cause. Hence, it was left optional with them either to return immediately to Mexico, or to take the probable chances of perishing in the cause of religion, in common with the missionaries. Accordingly, in a council held on the occasion, Father Tierra, after declaring his

determination to remain in the country at every hazard, addressed the military in substance as follows : He had no need of pointing out to them the melancholy state of affairs, and the imminent danger in which they were placed. To him, however, they were aware that no fault was to be attributed, for he had done all in his power to avert the calamity. If the supplies assigned by his Majesty, and expected from Government, had not been obtained, that was not to be imputed to him. The question, then, they were called upon to determine was whether they would abandon the place, retire to the coast of New Spain, and there await a more favorable opportunity for returning to the conquest of the country. The other Religious having expressed themselves conformably to this, it was then the moment for the soldiers to speak, and, to their honor and praise be it said, that they all to a man unanimously declared that they would stand by the Fathers, and die for religion, if necessary, under the shadow of the Cross! Noble and generous resolve, worthy of the chivalrous sons of Catholic Spain! the first champions of the religion of the Redeemer in this part of the world.

To supply their natural wants, or at least to prolong their existence as far as was possible, in the hope that aid might arrive, they had now to betake themselves to the country, in search of the little that Nature, in her wildest and barrenest

state, might be able to afford them. A melancholy but edifying spectacle it was to behold the venerable missionary Fathers, with their converts and soldiers, roaming through the land in search of berries and roots rather than abandon, even for a time, the post to which religion had called them. Acts such as these are rarely recorded of any, but certainly never except of the Catholic missionary. The heroic patience, however, displayed by the missionaries on this occasion, and their devoted adherence to the cause of religion, was not the most remarkable feature in their character. In the very midst of their poverty, when nothing but the strongest reliance on the providence of God could have influenced them to look hopefully to the future, Father Tierra, and his venerable confreres, were even then actually contemplating the extension of their missionary labors in the establishment of an additional mission.

About the commencement of July, Fathers Tierra and Ugarte, accompanied by a soldier and two Indians, and living as best they could on the little sustenance afforded them by nature, set out on a tour of inspection and had the gratification of finding a place and a tribe in every way according to their desires. The people were most anxious that the Fathers should remain in their country, but as the difficulties under which they were then laboring would not suffer them to commence the erection of a church and the other necessary build-

ings, they merely took possession of the place by the baptism of a number of children voluntarily offered by the parents. As if to reward them for this extraordinary charity and zeal in so holy a cause, the Almighty sent to their aid the necessary long-expected supplies. We will not here enter into the feelings of the Religious and of the garrison on the arrival of the vessel with the provisions. Their patience and devotion were at length crowned with success; though not in reality, they were in affection, martyrs of charity in the noblest of causes. To the trials and hardships of the past succeeded the abundance and security of the present. Roots, pithahayas and berries were no longer required to support their existence. The sad and gloomy forebodings which for so long had hung over their minds had given way to the most favorable and joyful anticipations. The entire situation was changed; the succor of their temporal wants was to be followed by a feast of spiritual joy. At the end of September, on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mother of God, the new church of Loretto was dedicated amidst the greatest rejoicing, and to add to the solemnity, several adults were baptized on the occasion.

Father Tierra, having been appointed at this time minister of the missions of Sinaloa and Sonora, was obliged to take leave of his Californian friends for a little. On his arrival in Mexico he found, to

his regret, that he had been appointed to the position of Provincial by his brethren. Though entirely unwilling to accept so important an office, especially as it would necessitate his absence from the scene of his missionary labors, yet in obedience to the voice of authority he entered at once on his spiritual charge. His separation from California did not prevent him from aiding the progress of religion. Shortly after his arrival in Mexico he waited upon his excellency the Viceroy, and represented to him the propriety of carrying out the royal command regarding the provision made for the missions. As there were then no hopes of a junta assembling, the Father prepared a memorial relating to the royal instructions and had it presented to the Governor. In the document he took occasion to show the impossibility of subsisting in the country unless aided more liberally by Government. At that moment the missions were only in possession of one little bark, for the transport of the necessary supplies, which even granting it were not attended by danger at sea was manifestly inadequate for all their requirements. He therefore was led to expect that the members of council would see the propriety and necessity of making more ample and securer provision for future contingencies. He also took occasion to bring under the notice of the council that up to that time, a period of seven years, the entire Government aid received by the Fathers had only

amounted to eighteen thousand dollars, or three thousand six hundred pounds, while the private donations and subscriptions expended on the six missions then established, showed an outlay of no less than one hundred and eighty-three thousand dollars. He then continued to state that, in consequence of the poverty and barrenness of the soil, they would for several years have to depend in a great measure on a regular supply of provisions from abroad—a circumstance which necessitated for a time a considerable outlay. In fine, he begged to state for the information of his Majesty's advisers that the crown was then in possession of an extent of territory of no less than one hundred leagues in circumference, and in such peaceful subjection that it might be traversed by any one without the slightest impediment.

The memorial was laid before the Assembly on the 27th of June, but the only result of its reading was, that a report should be sent to his Majesty, and his pleasure consulted. That it was more with the view of evading the question, than of consulting the king, the council had acted, seems clear from the fact that the resolution of Government was not communicated to Spain for nearly three quarters of a year after that date. And when, in due course, the royal assent was obtained, even then the claims of the Father were left in abeyance. After adducing the hereditary reasons for not carrying out the royal instruction—that is,

the exhausted state of the treasury, and the consequent inability of meeting any further demands—the council resolved that, as the memorial contained several points on which his Majesty's pleasure was not expressly declared, it would be well to re-forward the document to Spain, and await a reply. In 1709, the memorial was returned to Mexico, after receiving the royal assent; but, even then, on the ground that it was necessary to have the consent of the General Assembly, the payment was further delayed. Meantime, the Viceroy continued in office, but was succeeded the following year by the Duke of Linares, a nobleman of a very virtuous disposition, and strongly attached to the interests of the Fathers. Being left for a time unacquainted with the monarch's instructions respecting the missions, the newly-appointed Governor was unable, in his capacity of Viceroy, to hasten to the relief of the Religious. From his own private resources, however, he aided them as far as he could, and even solicited subscriptions in behalf of the missions from several of his personal friends. As a further proof of his affection and zeal in behalf of religion, at the expiration of his viceroyalty, when preparing to return to Spain, he willed the one third of his property, in case of his death, to the support of the Californian church.

While matters were thus slowly proceeding at Mexico, every artifice being employed by the agents of government to counteract or evade the

royal commands, the Fathers were equally zealous in seeking to meet, by private donations, the necessary wants. They were also most zealous in extending, according to their limited means, the sphere of their ministry. During the time that Fathers Piccolo and Tierra were soliciting subscriptions on the opposite coast, Fathers Peter and John Ugarte were occupied, the one in learning the language, and the other in clearing the ground preparatory to forming a new mission. They had also made several journeys into the interior, preached the Divine word, and induced several tribes to form into villages, and to accept the first rudiments of the Christian religion. Meantime, at the missions of Loretto and St. Xavier, the usual exercises of religion were being performed, and so favorably that, on the return of Father Tierra, the establishment of two additional missions was taken into immediate consideration. But, as there were then only *three priests* in the country, a difficulty was experienced; not such, however, as to materially interfere with the project, for a lay-brother, who had just come to the mission, supplied the necessity. This excellent man, of whom we shall ^{here}ward speak, was subsequently raised to the ^{priest}hood, and accomplished much for the interests of religion. In accordance with the Father-provincial's instructions, the contemplated missions were immediately begun, their organization having been entrusted to Fathers Peter Ugarte and Manuel de Bassaldo.

The savages being unaccustomed, in their native condition, to every convenience and social enjoyment, the establishment of missions among them was attended with the greatest discomfort. Exposure to the inclemency of the weather, meager and unwholesome food, and constant, unremitting physical exertions were, in these cases, the ordinary lot of the Religious. Invariably, while engaged in laying the foundations of the settlements, their only protection from the powerful action of the sun during the day, and of the cold at night, was that afforded them by a rude little hut; for, in every case, they directed their attentions in the first instance to the formation of a chapel for their Heavenly Master. The difficulties that Father Ugarte met with from the sloth and the indifference of the natives, were greater and more embarrassing than one would readily believe. Seeing that all his endeavors were unavailing to induce the older members of the tribe to engage in the work, he had recourse to the boys, whom he allured by presents and sweetmeats to join him in the work. A holy and edifying spectacle, indeed, it must have been, for the people to have witnessed this venerable and devoted Religious thus laboring with the young in laying the foundation of his contemplated mission. And, as children are often incited to the performance of duty by motives of rivalry, the Father laid hold of this means and adapted it to his purpose. At

times, he would wager with the little ones who would be first in clearing the ground, and removing the shrubs; at others, he would offer rewards for transporting the earth and forming the bricks; while again, he would gain their assistance by making the work a source of amusement and pleasure to all. "The Father used to take off his sandals," says Father Venegas, "and tread upon the clay, in which he was followed by the boys, skipping and dancing; the boys sung, and were highly delighted—the Father also sung, and thus they continued, dancing and treading the clay in different parts, till meal-time."

Thus it was that Father Ugarte succeeded in constructing his little temporary church, thereby evincing a spirit of simplicity and of practical piety in vain to be sought but in the life of an apostle. No wonder that such labors and exertions should have been blessed with more than an ordinary measure of success. And, indeed, such was the fact, for after a little this zealous apostle had the pleasure of admitting to baptism several of this tribe, thus happily reaping the first fruits of his labors.

While congratulating himself on the success of his labors, an occurrence took place which greatly endangered his life and those of his followers. Happening to be sent for to administer the last sacrament to a person in danger of death, he found on his arrival a sorcerer, or pagan religious, whom

he immediately obliged to depart, rebuking at the same time the convert and her friends for having permitted such an act. The Christians, either mistaking his meaning or desirous of giving a practical proof of their sorrow, immediately followed and slew the unfortunate man, for which, when sternly rebuked by the Father, they turned their anger on himself, and would also have deprived him of life had they not been deterred by his coolness and intrepidity of manner. Happening to learn by accident that the people were preparing to kill him, he immediately sent for the leaders, and with an air of resolution and determination addressed them somewhat as follows: "I am aware of your wicked designs. I know you have formed the resolution of killing me to-night. With this musket (pointing to an old carbine) I will slaughter you all, if you make the attempt. Go then, abandon your purpose and quickly repent for having conceived so nefarious a purpose." The address was effective, it produced the expected result; the Indians were exceedingly terrified, and so far from attacking the Father, they abandoned the mission that night and refused to return until assured by the missionary that he loved them as children. From this, which was only one of a number of similar instances, it can be readily seen how precarious and uncertain were the lives of the missionaries. Owing to the people's natural ferocity, their stupidity and fickle disposition, neither zeal,

patience or long-standing amongst them offered any protection against sudden attack. In fact the missionaries' lives were ever at stake, and sometimes unhappily forfeited, as will appear further on.

While Father Ugarte was engaged, as we have stated, in founding his mission in the face of the greatest and most unusual difficulties, both moral and physical, Father Manuel Bassaldo was also engaged in establishing his, but under more favorable and agreeable circumstances. The great difficulty this Father encountered at first was the formation of a road from the garrison to the mission, a distance of *one hundred miles* through a woody, mountainous country. So rugged, uneven and hilly was the land that it was with the greatest difficulty the Father was enabled to form a way for himself and his companions. But once the natural difficulties surmounted, his labors were of a more agreeable kind than those of his brother Religious. The people in this section of the country were of a better and more lively disposition, less variable and fickle in their habits, and consequently better adapted for the reception and profession of truth. For four years, till necessitated by sickness to leave for a time, the Father remained at this place, instructing the people, reclaiming them from their savage existence, and teaching them the knowledge and worship of God. He was succeeded in his charge by Father Francis Piccolo,

a man of equally remarkable virtues, whose zeal in behalf of the natives showed itself especially in the preaching of the word, and the conquest of souls effected in different parts of the country. The fruits of his labors were especially noticeable in the great number of communicants at the festivals of Easter and at different times through the course of the year.

Although the lives of the last mentioned missionaries present us with many rare and singular virtues, they do not show forth so clearly and emphatically the character of the missionary as that of the Rev. John Ugarte, to whom the venerable Father Tierra was wont to give the name of Apostle. Father John Ugarte was one of those rare and eminent men who are ever foremost in every noble and meritorious employment. He left the impress of his zeal and ability on every work he engaged in; and his success was certainly in keeping with his energy and devotion. Ever on the alert for an opportunity for advancing the interests of religion, his thoughtful, active, zealous mind never suffered him to rest for a moment. Now admonishing, reclaiming, instructing the ignorant; now administering the sacraments of the church, or attending to the temporal concerns of the mission—laboring in the fields, working on the buildings, repairing the roads, or preparing the vessels for sea—in each and every capacity, he joined to the sweetness and mildness of the saint the activity

and energy of the missionary. To such an extent did he succeed in reclaiming this naturally lazy and indolent people, and in bringing them to observe a system of order, that they even submitted at his command to the penalties enjoined, and accepted the merited punishment due to a violation of the rules of the mission. To the children, however, it was that he gave the greatest share of attention, knowing that they were more susceptible of religious impressions, and more likely to influence the coming generation. But his zeal and devotion were not unfrequently richly rewarded, even in the pious and virtuous sentiments of the aged, at the moment of death. As an instance, this may serve as an example: In the hospital under his care for the spiritual and temporal comfort of the afflicted, was a native, whose death was remarkable for virtue. Repeatedly would he enter with his confessor into the particulars of his former confessions, and beg him to come and assist him by prayer. So genuine and heartfelt was his sorrow for his former transgressions, that he frequently manifested his willingness to die in that sickness, lest he should unhappily return to his former excesses, and thus peril his eternal salvation. Thus piously and holily inclined, he approached the end of his earthly career, took leave of his friends, bid adieu to the Father, and with sentiments of the liveliest confidence in the goodness and mercy of God, resigned himself into the hands of his

Maker. Another instance, of a similar kind, was that of a sorcerer, who was brought to a knowledge of God by the kindness shown to his son by the Father. At first, he had the strongest natural repugnance to learn the principles of our holy religion. His office, position, self-interest and associations strongly opposed his design. Throwing open his soul, however, to the influence of Divine grace, he finally submitted to the yoke of religion, received the holy sacrament of baptism, and became a model of piety, spending the greater part of his time in the exercise of devotion till the hour of his death. Another still more remarkable instance of the goodness and mercy of God in enlightening the blind and calling sinners to repentance, was witnessed in the case of an enemy of the cross, who, for a considerable time, had been embittering the minds of the gentiles against the Christian religion. From what cause his repentance arose we are not given to learn; but, with tears in his eyes and solemn promises of amendment on his lips, he voluntarily presented himself at the door of the church, promising never to return to his gentile companions, and earnestly begging to be admitted to baptism. Father Ugarte, seeing the entire change of his life, and the truly virtuous disposition by which he was animated, immediately admitted him to the sacrament, conferring on him the name of the great doctor of Milan, on whose festival he was added to the ranks

of the faithful. That the Father was not deceived in his judgment regarding his truly virtuous sentiments appeared later on, from the fact that from then till the moment of death, which happened soon after, he evinced the most evident marks of being specially called to the faith by the goodness and mercy of God.

Father Ugarte now made arrangements for surveying the southern coast. On the 26th of November, 1706, he set out, accompanied by a small number of troops and some Indians. The difficulties he had to contend with were not confined to the character of the country or the dangers to be encountered from barbarous tribes, but extended to the necessary means of existence—the only provision for water being wells dug by the natives in the sand, and which were often unequal to the wants of the company. After marching several leagues they were from this cause placed in the most imminent danger of death. Unable to find the necessary supply, they resolved upon retracing their steps through the interior of the country, hoping to find in the mountains the aid that was denied them on the coast. In this, however, their hopes were but slight, for the parched aspect of the land and the well-known absence of rain, made it very precarious whether it would not be their misfortune to fail in discovering a rivulet or spring on the way. Depressed in mind and body, they traveled a considerable distance through the in-

terior of the country without finding the object of their search. At length they arrived at the dry bed of a river, which in vain they examined in both directions. Thus disappointed, exhausted and dying of thirst, they resigned themselves into the hands of the Lord. Another four-and-twenty hours of like disappointment, and some, if not all, would certainly have succumbed to their fate. Before making a final attempt, on the morning of their greatest distress, the Father began by offering the holy sacrifice of the Mass to beg the Almighty to hasten to their aid. The Mass was that of the Immaculate Conception. All earnestly joined with the Father in supplicating the Deity to hasten to their relief. The holy sacrifice ended, the Litany was commenced, but before being finished an Indian came running to the camp crying: "Water, water!" At a short distance a little well, sufficient to satisfy the wants of the company, was found, and what was especially remarkable was that on the day previous, while search was being made in every direction, several had passed by that place without being able to observe any appearance of water. Whether it was a miraculous supply afforded them by Providence, or a natural spring to which they were propitiously directed, I leave to the judgment of the reader to determine, but in either supposition the providence of God seems clearly displayed.

Father Salva Tierra, whose appointment as Provincial of the Society in Mexico, we have spoken

of above, obtained permission at this time to return to the country. On leaving California he took with him five of his converts in order to enable them to form a higher idea of the splendor and magnificence of religion, so that upon their return they might be able to give an account of the same to their brethren at home. Contrary to his expectations the five natives, in consequence of the change of food and climate, fell sick upon his hands and had to be sent back to the country. During the voyage one of them was seized with a mortal illness, but exhibited the greatest humility and resignation to the divine will during his sufferings. He even most fervently prayed that the Almighty might remove him from life before reaching California, if his services were no longer required upon earth—a desire in which he was gratified, for before the end of the voyage he was called by the Lord to the reward of the just.

That the people were in many instances brought to a high sense of religion, and exhibited in their lives many rare and singular virtues, we are not to be astonished considering the truly admirable and apostolic spirit with which the missionary Fathers were animated. In their zeal for the salvation of souls, they were entirely unmindful of self. The case of Father Mayarga is an instance of this. Prostrated by sickness, it was deemed necessary to remove him to the coast of New Spain; but, on learning the determination of his brethren, he so earn-

estly begged to be permitted to die in the country that he obtained his request. And as it would seem to reward his fidelity the Almighty restored him to health and enabled him to labor for several subsequent years in behalf of his flock. In the centre of the mountains, some ninety or a hundred miles from the principal mission, it was that this truly virtuous and zealous apostle fixed his abode, and established a mission to the patriarch Joseph. His constitution soon became accustomed to the hardships of the place, and his natural strength was restored by degrees.

By patience, prayer and unwearied exertions he succeeded in inducing the greater part of the savages of that special locality to abandon their wandering life, and to settle down at and in the vicinity of his mission. His charity and zeal for the necessities of all showed themselves in different ways. A seminary for the boys, another for the girls, and an hospital for the infirm, were among the evidences of his goodness and benevolence of mind. His spiritual functions were discharged with such profit and advantage to his people that we are told it was most pleasing and agreeable to observe the devotion and religious deportment of his little community. Nor was his mind entirely engaged with those in his immediate locality. Around in every direction were numerous tribes whose souls had never been illumined by the faintest ray of gospel truth. Salvation to them through

the Redeemer was an unmeaning expression; they had never heard of the Saviour of the world. No wonder then that the heart of that venerable man should be touched at their state and filled with compassion for their unhappy condition. But the losses sustained by the mission at this time put it entirely out of his power to hasten to their aid, however important and necessary he may have deemed the establishment of a mission amongst them. A vessel, the San Xavier, while proceeding to Sonora for a supply of provisions with a sum of three thousand dollars in specie on board, was driven back by a storm, wrecked on the coast and plundered by the gentiles. This, for the moment, checked the progress of the missions, yet not so as to materially injure them, for under every, even the most unfavorable, circumstances, the work of the Lord was sure to advance.

On the news of the disaster being made known at the mission, Father Tierra immediately hastened to the aid of the sufferers, whom he found in the greatest distress, having lost their entire stock of provisions and being obliged to live on the shellfish and herbs found on the coast. As the refitting of the vessel occupied a considerable time the Father in the interval directed his attention to the preaching of the gospel; and in order the more readily to give the people an idea of the truth of religion, he had portions of the catechism translated into the vernacular, which, by persuasion

and kindness, he got them to learn. It is also to be remarked that this people had previously requested the Father to instruct and baptize them, but the great difficulty of acquiring their language had prevented this for a time. The presence of Father Tierra amongst them awakened their former desires, but as he was unable to remain in their district, he merely admitted the children to baptism, and promised at the earliest opportunity to provide them with missionaries. It is impossible, on reading the virtuous disposition of these gentiles, not to feel sorrow that more missionary priests were not in the country to instruct them in the principles of religion. Under the circumstances the Fathers did all in their power to meet the emergency. The Government being unwilling to come forward with the necessary aid, and the private subscriptions being barely sufficient for the missions already established, further missionary hands could not be employed, thereby causing the greatest embarrassment and anxiety to the Fathers in the way of accomplishing their noble designs. To add to their difficulties a terrible epidemic broke out in the tribe, and extended its ravages on all sides. The greater part of the children and several of the adults fell victims to the malady; nor was this the extent of their misfortune, for, in consequence of a great dearth of provisions and being necessitated to live exclusively on maize and dried meats, other distempers were generated among the

Europeans and resulted fatally to many. The prevalence of these disorders, independent of their natural result, contained a still greater danger to the missions. They were laid hold of by the malignant in order to bring religion into disfavor. In consequence of the great number of deaths, both amongst the children and adults, the sorcerers succeeded in persuading the people that the missionaries were killing the community—the little ones by the waters of baptism and the others by the sacrament of unction! The credulity of the multitude accepted the cheat, and for a time it was firmly believed that the priests were the cause of the mortality.

Nor were the venerable missionaries' trials confined to the foregoing. Christian and Pagan, European and Native, seemed ready to thwart their designs, and overreach their simplicity. In 1711, one of the Fathers was dispatched to the opposite coast, for the purpose of having a vessel belonging to the mission repaired; but, such was the unscrupulousness and fraud of those engaged in the work, that after an outlay of several thousand dollars the condition of the vessel was but little improved. The building of another was, in consequence, immediately begun; but here, in like manner, the simplicity of the Father was turned to profit; and taken advantage of by the unscrupulous speculators, for, after an expenditure of twenty-two thousand dollars or more, the vessel was found to

be entirely unfit for the sea, and was actually lost on its first voyage, on the coast of Sinaloa.

Amid all these grave and continuous obstacles, difficulties and disappointments, the missionaries' labors were in no way abated. Ever extending the sphere of their apostleship, they made several journeys to the interior, reduced several wandering tribes, taught them the principles of religion, and induced them to settle down in particular localities, where they were easily accessible for purposes of instruction. Oftentimes, the Indians themselves would repair to the Fathers, and beg them to go and live in their country. This was particularly so in the case of the Cadigomos, who, on several occasions, repaired in great numbers to the Religious. Unable to resist their pious importunities, though poorly in health, and fully employed where he was, Father Ugarte resolved to visit their tribe. Accordingly, in 1712, he set out for their country. On coming among them, they received him with the greatest demonstrations of love and affection, entreating him to settle among them; and, as an inducement, promised to bestow upon him their best pithahayas and feathers, and their children for baptism! Though thus admirably disposed, and ready for the acceptance of the gospel, yet, in consequence of the scarcity of priests and the difficulties of maintaining the missions, five years were necessarily suffered to elapse before the spiritual wants of this tribe could

be fully attended. Meantime, though situated at a distance of one hundred miles or more, in a wild, mountainous portion of the country, the Father visited them occasionally, while several, on their part, visited him.

The Cochimes, another tribe of that part of the country, also begged the Father at this time to form a mission among them. In a visit which he paid them in the month of November, of the year 1706, they had received him with even greater demonstrations of affection than the Cadigomos; but, how inscrutable are the ways of Divine Providence! That people was not to be blessed with a mission for two-and-twenty years from that date.

During the short time of the Father's stay in their camp, he was only enabled to give them the faintest ideas of religion; but, finding them so admirably disposed, he administered the sacrament of baptism to fifty of the children. In 1728, a mission under the title of St. Ignatius, was ultimately established among them.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FATHERS INVEST THE MONEYS BELONGING TO THE MISSION IN REAL ESTATE.—FIRST ATTEMPT AT GOVERNMENT.—ROUTINE AT THE MISSION.—MILITARY GOVERNMENT.—AMOUNT SPENT ON THE MISSIONS.—NATURAL PHENOMENA.—FLOODS, WHIRLWINDS, ETC.—FATHER UGARTE PREPARES TO MAKE A SECOND SURVEY OF THE COAST.—HE BUILDS A VESSEL.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSION OF LA PAZ.—MISSION OF OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE.—FAMINE AND EPIDEMIC IN THE COUNTRY.—DEVOTION OF THE MISSIONARIES.

UP to the present, the missions existed in great measure on the private subscriptions and donations of the faithful. The moneys assigned for their foundation remained in the hands of the benefactors, the interest only being applied for the contemplated purposes of the donors. The failure of Don Juan Lopez Baptista, founder of the mission of Luigi, showed the danger of such an arrangement. It was, therefore, deemed safer that the moneys charitably donated should be laid out in the purchase of land, a course which was subsequently adopted and served to promote the best interests of religion. From the rentals, the missionaries were supplied with sufficient for their necessary personal expenses. Those incurred in the service of the altar for the purposes of divine worship were met by the Government, in accordance with an order from the crown.

At first, the Fathers provided for the temporal wants of all the people, provided they settled at the

missions, and received catechetical instructions. It was thus the chief part of the revenue was liberally applied. After a time, when the numbers increased, it was found difficult to continue this rule, and then only such as attended the regular services of religion were entitled to the allowance. Morning and night they received a measure of atole or pinole, and at noon another of pozzoli, and fresh or salt meat, as the supplies were on hand. The children, aged and infirm of every tribe, whether Christian or Pagan, were carefully attended, and provided with an abundance of food. Baize, serges, and panillos were imported from Spain, and blankets from Mexico for their particular use. The product of the land was entirely their own, the only restraint placed upon them being that of preventing them from wasting the crops, which they would have certainly done if not prevented by the Religious.

As the people had now become tolerably civilized, having almost entirely abandoned their former wandering life, some method for establishing order amongst them became necessary. An attempt was accordingly made at the principal mission. The civil government, if we may be permitted the expression, consisted merely of a few simple regulations, adapted to the character and condition of the people. It was provided, in the first place, that the Father who was the chief of the executive should be attended by a soldier, who

within a certain limit assigned should enjoy the same powers as the captain of the garrison. By the second proviso, the Father was empowered to appoint a Mayor, or Governor, in every tribe, whose duty it would be to preserve order and harmony, and to see that the commands of the missionaries were duly observed. A churchwarden was appointed to the care of every church. His office was to cause all to be present at the exercises of religion, and to see that they conducted themselves becomingly in the church. The catechist summoned the tribe daily to morning and evening devotions, and reported to the Father any want of attendance. During the unavoidable absence of the missionary while visiting the neighboring tribes, the soldier was his vicegerent, and empowered to punish delinquents except for capital crimes, when the case was to be referred to the captain of the garrison. The punishment awarded to minor offences was flogging, imprisonment, or the stocks.

The spiritual government was uniform throughout the whole of the missions. It embraced, beside the daily attendance at the holy sacrifice of the mass, morning and night prayer, catechetical instructions, the care of the infirm and the education of the young. The more apt and better disposed were brought up at the principal mission, where they were instructed in reading, writing and music, a course which fitted them for the office

of wardens, or catechists, in their respective localities. The daily routine in the villages where the missionary resided, was as follows: In the morning the warden summoned the people to church; when, after prayer, the *Te Deum* was sung. Then followed the holy sacrifice of the mass, the catechism in the vernacular, and not unfrequently a prone or instruction, animating them to fervor and perseverance in virtue. This ended, the people retired to their respective employments—some to the fields, some to the workshops, and some to the woods. At noon, they assembled for dinner, which, as has been remarked, consisted of flesh meat and pozzoli, to which, in some instances, vegetables were added. After a reasonable recess, they returned to their respective occupations in which they were engaged till the evening, when they repaired to the church, and recited the rosary and litany of the Blessed Virgin and a hymn in honor of the most adorable sacrament. This concluded, they retired, each one to his respective dwelling, for the night.

The same order, to a great extent, was observed at the out-stations, which were placed under the care of a warden. Every morning the catechist assembled the people in church, and after the usual prayers and catechism, dismissed them to their work. The better to instruct the more ignorant in the principal mysteries of religion, inasmuch as they had only an occasional visit from the

missionary, it was required of them to reside for some time at the principal mission, where they were maintained by the Father. After being tolerably instructed, their attendance was only demanded on Saturdays and Sundays. On all the principal festivals, as well as during the last week of Lent, all the inhabitants from every quarter assembled at the principal mission." How touching and edifying, to witness these poor, simple-minded people, who, but a little before, were alike unconscious of the God who created them, as well as the Saviour who redeemed them, now hastening with cheerful accord, from considerable distances, in order to be present at the offices of religion, and to receive instruction from the lips of their pastor. Every Sunday and festival day, and oftentimes during the week, the missionaries preached to the people. In the administration of the sacraments, but especially of the most adorable Eucharist, the Fathers used the most scrupulous care, never admitting to holy communion any but those sufficiently instructed, and who had given the most satisfactory guarantees of the sincerity of their faith by the purity and simplicity of their lives. Of this class there were several, who not only fulfilled the annual precept of the Church, but who were even permitted to approach the table of the Lord frequently during the year. The religious training of the children was especially attended to by the missionaries; the boys were under the care of a

master, and the girls under that of a matron. On Sundays, besides the accustomed exercises appointed by religion, the people went in procession around the village, singing hymns and rejoicing; after which, they returned to the church to assist at a sermon.

The military government of the garrison was in the hands of the Captain, subject, however, to the authority of the Father—an arrangement which seems to have given the greatest displeasure, especially as the Religious strictly prohibited all from engaging in the pearl fishery on the coast. It was not, indeed, without cause, that such a prohibition had been made; for, during the first expeditions under Alarcon, Viscaino and others, the natives were not unfrequently disedified and scandalized at the conduct of the Spaniards. And entirely apart from this, there was another, and, perhaps, a more necessary reason why such a resolution should be enforced; for, were the soldiers permitted to occupy themselves thus, their services would be lost to the mission, and their presence, in consequence, unavailing for good to the country. Repeatedly did they petition the Father for permission to fish; but, in every instance, their request was met with an absolute refusal; for he was aware of the consequences that would necessarily ensue. At times, however, they managed to avoid the vigilance of the authorities, and engaged in their illicit pursuit, but only to the

great scandal and detriment of the natives, whose barks and service they made use of in their search for the pearls. After a time, the severity of this resolution was somewhat relaxed; and it was permitted to those who had the royal permission to engage in the fisheries.

By the prudence and foresight of the Abbè Alberoni, who was then at the head of public affairs in the old country, the missions were saved at this juncture from inevitable ruin. A man of great wealth, in New Spain, had aspired to the office of Governor of California; and, as an inducement to Government to confer the position upon him, he offered to the authorities a very considerable bribe. A compliance with his desires, it is hardly necessary to say, would have resulted most unfavorably to the country; for, as generally happens in such cases, when offices are purchased, measures are afterwards taken for indemnifying the outlay by the oppression of the poor. Like the great Ximenes, Alberoni had a mind above such miserable chicanery. The eighty thousand dollars offered by the citizen for the viceroyalty of the Californias, only served to direct his attention to that country, and caused him to form extensive designs in its regard, which, if fully developed, would undoubtedly have advanced the material prosperity of the country in general. His object was, in the first instance, to colonize the North American coast, and to extend the

Spanish dominions into the then unexplored regions north of the Gila and Colorado. He also designed, by extending the trade of the Philippines, and making them the centre of the commerce of the East, to render the colonists independent of Old and New Spain. From the Philippines, a trade was to be carried on with the eastern and western shores of America, while from New Spain the commerce would readily find its way into Europe.

The vastness and importance of this plan was worthy of the man by whom it was projected; and, if carried out, would, in all probability, have been attended with the most important results to the nation. With the sanction of the crown, Alberoni wrote to the Viceroy at Mexico, recommending the project to his care. Pursuant to his instructions, a council was immediately held by his excellency, in which were discussed the best means for carrying out the royal intentions. The project, however, did not meet with the approval of the members. It appeared either too vast, and the members of the council were unwilling to assume the responsibility of so important a scheme, or they were indifferent regarding the colonization of the country at all. The meeting, however, was not without its important results as regarded the Fathers. After a careful examination of the case, it was resolved that the Californian missions should be supplied with everything necessary for the

maintenance of a limited number of troops; that two vessels should be constructed and placed at the disposal of the Fathers; and that, if the thirteen thousand dollars already granted by government were found insufficient for defraying the general expenses, the deficit should be supplied from the royal exchequer.

From the wording of the resolution, it appears that the money hitherto raised by private subscription, and expended on the missions, amounted in the gross to five hundred thousand dollars. The council next took into consideration the necessity of establishing a garrison for the protection of the Philippine vessels; as, also, the importance of making an accurate survey of the coast. At the request of the Fathers, it was further determined to maintain fifty additional soldiers at the Cape, and to provide for the education of the youth of the country. But these resolutions not having passed in regular form, were afterwards altered by the Viceroy, the number of soldiers being reduced from fifty to five-and-twenty, while the provision for the education of the children was entirely neglected.

This illiberal and short-sighted policy on the part of the authorities was only in keeping with their previous decrees, and highly injurious to the interests of the nation. A ready and generous aid granted to the Fathers at this time, by which they would be enabled to form garrisons and establish-

ments on the coast and in the interior, would have tended materially to have strengthened the hands of the executive, and to have preserved to the country those important dependencies.

We will now turn for a moment from the labors of the Fathers and the action of Government, to the consideration of some natural events. Upper and Lower California have been frequently visited by terrible storms, whirlwinds and rains. In the autumn of 1717, a hurricane of unusual violence, accompanied with thunder, lightning and rain, burst over the country and extended its ravages throughout the peninsula. The missions, in several instances, suffered severely from its effects. Father Ugarte's presbytery and church were leveled with the ground, his life placed in the most imminent danger, and the crops belonging to the mission completely destroyed. At Loretto, the violence of the storm was such that a boy was taken up into the air and never heard of again. Along the coast, the fragments of vessels and small boats were evidence of its terrible nature. Though frequent in their occurrence, this was the greatest disaster of the kind experienced by the missionaries during their time in the country. It is to such causes, we are assured, that is to be attributed, in great measure, the poverty of the soil, for on such occasions the floods are so strong, that the greater part of the upper surface of the soil is borne away, the rocks only remaining.

The disastrous effects produced by the storm in the mission of Father Ugarte were repeated at Purissima, where the soil was very much damaged by the rains. Shortly after this terrible visitation, Father Tamaral proceeded to the village of San Miguel, where, as if to recompense him by a spiritual gain for the temporal losses sustained by the missions, the Almighty was pleased to grant him unusual success. As the first fruits of his labors, Father Tamaral baptized on that occasion two entire tribes of the gentiles, who earnestly sought to become Christians. Thence he made his way through the mountains to the Indians of Cadigomo, whence he proceeded to La Purissima, where, after extraordinary toil and continued exertion for several years, he succeeded eventually in forming a flourishing mission, from which, as a centre, he visited, at regular intervals, the tribes in the vicinity. This venerable missionary's labors can best be appreciated from the fact, that though constitutionally weak and suffering from frequent attacks of a chronic disease, he extended the sphere of his ministry to the considerable distance of one hundred miles, in a wild, mountainous country, inhabited by forty different tribes.

An accurate knowledge of the peninsula being important, for purposes both civil and religious, Father Ugarte now applied himself to making a careful survey of the coast. For the accomplishment of his purpose, a vessel of considerable pro-

portions was needed; but, as such was not to be had on the coast, he had either to have it constructed in New Spain, the Philippines, or the Old World, unless, indeed, he could find means of building it himself in the country. The latter he eventually determined on doing, though to most persons under the circumstances the construction of a vessel would have proved an insurmountable obstacle. In the mind of the Father, however, difficulties were only a stimulant to energy. In September of the year 1719, accompanied by some of his people, he set out for the interior in search of the necessary timbers. After traveling two hundred miles through a mountainous district, he eventually found the object of his search in a low, marshy part of the country. How to transport it thence to the mission, over hill and dale, was the question then to be solved. Considering the great natural difficulties of the journey, all, with the exception of himself, were of opinion that the work was impossible—that the timber could not be transported to the shore. As the party had only gone out for the object of inspection, they immediately returned to the mission, where the failure of the project was made the subject of general jest. Meantime, the Father did not suffer himself to be influenced by the incredulity of his companions. Having made the necessary preparation for transporting the trees, he again set out on his mission, cleared a road through the mountains,

felled the timber, and carried it by means of oxen and mules to the coast, where, within an incredibly short period, he constructed a vessel, which for beauty, strength and size was admitted by all to be superior to any that had yet been seen on the coast.

Thus was built by a Jesuit Father, in the face of the greatest difficulties, the first vessel that was ever constructed on the Californian coast. She received from the Father the very appropriate title of the "Triumph of the Cross;" and was employed, in the first instance, for the establishment of a mission at La Paz, two hundred miles south of Loretto.

Inasmuch as the whole of the missions, for their greater security, were connected by land, with the double object of opening a readier communication, and of civilizing the intermediary tribes, this expedition was twofold in its character—one part proceeded by land, and the other by sea. The land force was entrusted to the care of Father Guillen of the mission of St. John the Baptist, while the other was led by the indefatigable Father Ugarte, in the trial trip of his newly-built vessel. The mission itself was placed in the hands of Father Bravo. The naval expedition, which arrived before the land party, was at first received with feelings of mistrust by the natives; but, on their intentions becoming known, the people expressed their delight, especially, as it seemed to

them, that by the presence of the missionaries, a reconciliation would likely be effected between them and their inveterate enemies—the inhabitants of the neighboring islands.

The news of the Father's arrival was soon spread through the country, and drew from the neighboring districts numbers of savages, whose respect and esteem Father Ugarte was not slow in attaining. Thus, under the happiest and most favorable auspices, the foundations of this additional mission were laid, and the first measure for the conversion of this section of the country begun. Shortly after, Father Ugarte was joined by the land party, after traveling two hundred miles, with incredible difficulty, through a barren mountainous country. The inconveniences undergone by the Fathers during the formation of the mission, need not be referred to; they were in keeping with what has already been noticed under similar circumstances. The huts, first formed of branches of trees, gave place after a little to more comfortable dwellings and greater convenience. During the six years that Father Bravo governed this mission, he baptized over six hundred children and adults; and, when succeeded in 1728, left in the three villages eight hundred Christians.

Another mission, under the title of "Our Lady of Guadalupe," was founded shortly after that of La Paz. While Father Ugarte had been occupied in cutting timber for the vessel which now brought

him to La Paz, his kind and amiable disposition so attracted the inhabitants of those parts, the Cochimes, that they frequently asked him to return. All that he could then promise them was that if circumstances permitted he would revisit them on some future occasion, or, at least, have a missionary sent. The arrival of Father Everard Helen, in 1719, enabled him to comply with their desires. On the twentieth of December, Fathers Ugarte and Helen arrived at Huasinopi, the place destined for the formation of the new mission. Thither the Indians of all the neighboring tribes immediately repaired, expressing their greatest delight that the Fathers had come to settle amongst them. The good dispositions by which they were animated could not be mistaken. A church, a presbytery, and huts for the natives were immediately begun and, while in the course of erection, messages were brought from the tribes living at a distance begging the Father to visit their camps, for the sake of the aged and infirm, who were unable to repair to the mission. In a couple of weeks, the buildings were sufficiently advanced so as to be habitable, and then was begun in good earnest the instruction of the gentiles. By the festival of Easter the Father was enabled to celebrate his first solemn baptism of adults. The readiness manifested by the people for the sacrament was very remarkable. On being made acquainted by the missionary that one of the conditions requisite was that they should

deliver up all the religious objects used at their festivals, they immediately brought the objectionable articles, and laid them at his feet. Their readiness in thus complying with his desires may be accounted for on account of their unacquaintance, as has been stated at the outset, with every species of formal idolatry. But, as the leaders of the people pretended to a certain knowledge of spiritual and medical science, thereby assuming the double character of priest and physician, and in consequence exercising a great influence over their minds, the compliance of the converts with the Father's injunctions must be regarded as a great triumph of grace. After a large quantity of these articles had been brought by the neighboring tribes, they were publicly burned, and the people admitted to baptism. A like course was followed by all the missionaries of the peninsula.

The means used by the Almighty for the conversion of nations are not always the best calculated in the eyes of the world for such an end. Indirect, as well as direct means, are not unfrequently used by the Lord; nor are the former less efficacious than the latter. If it be true that He chastiseth those whom He loveth, it may be permitted to interpret the calamities that fell on the country at this period in a favorable light. In the year 1722, the peninsula was invaded by incredible swarms of locusts, which almost completely destroyed the chief means of the natives' support

—the pithahayas and other fruits of the country. The maize crops at the mission happily escaped the ravages of the noxious insects, and thus the Fathers were enabled to save from inevitable death many who would otherwise have certainly perished of want. As it was, the distress was appalling; and out of it grew another calamity equally dangerous to the lives of the people. Seeking to satisfy the cravings of hunger, the Indians fed upon the locusts themselves, a resort which, as might have been anticipated, resulted eventually in a general epidemic, in the shape of most virulent ulcers, to which thousands fell victims. As soon as the epidemic had ceased, it was followed by a dysentery, which raged with still greater destruction.

This complication of evils, coming rapidly one upon another, afforded the Father an opportunity of gaining the love and affection of the people by his constant and devoted attention to their wants. The epidemic being general, the missionary was constantly on foot moving from place to place; now in the character of priest, then in that of physician, again exercising the duties of nurse, and thus uniting in his person the triple character of father, friend and physician. So constant and unremitting were his duties, and so little account did he make of himself, that his health was at length undermined, and he was obliged to retire for a time from the field of his labors. As

soon, however, as he was somewhat restored, he returned to his people, who received him with all the marks of affection and gratitude which the numerous lessons of Christian benevolence they had witnessed in his life taught them to feel.

During the time of the mortality, Father Helen attended in their last moments, and prepared for eternity, two hundred and twenty-eight of the adult population. The numbers that owed their recovery to his kind and unremitting attention, we have been unable to learn, but it is not unreasonable to suppose they were many. The Father's faithful and heroic exercises of the office of his ministry so won the love and esteem of the savages as to aid him most powerfully in establishing the Christian religion amongst them. In three years from this date, he had succeeded in converting no less than thirty-two tribes, numbering over seven-hundred persons of all ages. The difficulty of attending these Christians was greater than one would be inclined to suppose, for of the thirty-two tribes, twenty-two were dispersed through the mountains, on account of the great scarcity of water and fruits. These wandering families he eventually succeeded in gathering into particular localities, where they lived in great order and harmony. In each of the villages was a chapel for daily devotions, such as has been noted above. The barren nature of the soil in this section of the country preventing the very extensive production of corn

Father Helen was necessitated, in order to provide for the wants of the people, to import cattle and distribute them through the villages. These, together with the little maize he was enabled to raise, and the fruits they were accustomed to gather in the woods, constituted their entire means of support.

After nine years unremitting attention to the duties of his calling, Father Helen's constitution again sank under his labors. The old infirmity, accompanied by another distemper, returned in all its force. Zeal, charity, benevolence could do no more; nature was exhausted. He had fought the good fight, and now there only remained that he should prepare himself for the reward. To live and die among his people—those poor, simple Indians, whom he had reclaimed from a rude, barbarous condition, was the most earnest desire of his soul. But his superiors, thinking that a cessation from labor might prolong his existence, ordered him to repair to New Spain. Obedient to the voice of authority, he immediately prepared for his departure, and, as he turned his face to the shore and bid adieu to his flock, great was the grief and abundant the tears of the multitude, reminding one forcibly of the affection of the Ephesians and Miletians for the great apostle of the gentiles, under similar circumstances: "And when he had said these things, kneeling down he prayed

with them all: and falling on Paul's neck they kissed him, being very much grieved for the word which he had said, that they should see his face no more. And they conducted him to the ship." ¹

(1) *Acts*: ch. xx., v. 36-38.

CHAPTER XV.

PROJECT TO ESTABLISH GARRISONS AND COLONIES ALONG THE COAST. — EXAMINATION OF THE COAST. — RECEPTION OF THE FATHERS' PARTY BY THE SAVAGES. — DANGER AT SEA. — RETURN VOYAGE. — TERRIBLE STORM. — ADVANTAGES RESULTING FROM THE VOYAGE. — ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS. — SUCCESS OF THE FATHERS. — SINGULAR ENCOUNTER WITH THE SAVAGES. — CONVERSIONS. — MISSION FOUNDED FOR THE CADIGOMO INDIANS. — SUCCESS OF THE SAME.

WITH the view of extending the civil and commercial relations of California, and of protecting the eastern trade, it had long been an object of desire to the Court of Madrid, to find shelter for the Philippine vessels on this coast. It had also been proposed, as we have seen, to establish colonies and garrisons in the country. The effectual accomplishment of this having been entrusted to the Fathers, was met with numerous obstacles. It was required, in the first instance, before anything could be determined, to make an accurate survey of the coast; but, as the "Triumph of the Cross," built under the direction of Father Ugarte, was then the only vessel of any worth belonging to the mission, the survey could not be made without unusual risk. A careful examination by land, it is true, might have answered the purpose; but, as this had been unsuccessfully attempted before, it could not be safely relied on again.

In order, however, to remove all ground of complaint on the part of the Government, and to com-

ply as far as was possible with the royal instructions, the Fathers, with the very limited means at their command, resolved to engage in the work. To ensure the greater success, they determined on dispatching a naval and land expedition. Father Ugarte, being the oldest and most experienced, took charge of the former, and Father Guillen of the latter. From the time of Viscaino's expedition, it was known that a bay of considerable dimensions, called La Magdalena, existed in the vicinity of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth degree of latitude. Thither, according to arrangement, Father Guillen directed his course, accompanied by a party of soldiers and Californians. After traveling continuously for five-and-twenty days, subject to all the inconvenience resulting from journeying in so inhospitable a land, they finally attained the object of their search. The great sense of gratification experienced by the party in thus far accomplishing their enterprise, was very much lessened on learning of the great scarcity of water, without which the advantages of the bay as a place of resort would be entirely unavailing. On inquiring from the natives, they learned that the only fresh water in the vicinity was that of a well, dug in the sand, and of which the Indians made use. They were, however, informed that on the neighboring island, since called Santa Rosalia, water was abundant; but, as they were unable to cross from the main land, in order to as-

sure themselves of the truth of the statement; and, as it would have been unimportant, even if true, they examined the country in every direction, but to no purpose; when they resolved to return to the mission. Father Guillen endeavored to dissuade them from this, and did all in his power to induce them to make a further examination of the country, yet they were unwilling to listen to his words. Fifteen days later they arrived at Loretto, after having traveled a distance of two hundred miles.

Father Ugarte had not yet put to sea, for he awaited the result of the land expedition. By no means discouraged at the unfavorable report, he immediately embarked in his own little vessel, having on board six-and-twenty hands all told; the greater part being Chinese and native Californians. After a sail of some days, they landed on that part of the coast inhabited by the Tepoquis and Seris, who received them in a very unusual manner.

The venerable Father Salva Tierra, who had formerly visited this people, and had given them some elementary notions of religion; recommended to their care all vessels belonging to the missions, which might happen to call at that place. They were to distinguish them by the symbol of our holy religion, which they were certain to carry.

Before leaving the ship, and going ashore, Father Ugarte and his companions observed on the strand one of the natives, who, after fixing a cross

in the sand, immediately retired out of sight. What his object could be was entirely unknown to the party; but, inasmuch as it was the emblem of faith, the Christians, who had been ordered ashore, approached it with every mark of respect. Thereupon, the savages, who had been watching them from a distance, instantly rushed from their concealment, being confirmed in their opinion of the strangers; the more so, on seeing, as they approached, the bowsprit of the bilander surmounted by the emblem of salvation. Their greatest ambition was, then, to see who would be first to welcome the Father, and congratulate him upon his arrival among them. Impatient of the smallest delay, they threw themselves into the sea, and swam to the ship. On board, the scene was touching and edifying in the extreme. On recognizing Father Ugarte as the missionary and leader of the party, they fell at his feet, kissed his garments and hands, and otherwise evinced their esteem and regard for his person. Next day, great numbers of them brought an abundant supply of fresh water from a considerable distance—a service of no little importance to the Christians, as their own provision on board was nearly exhausted.

At the earnest request of the people, Father Ugarte consented to visit their kinsmen inhabiting an island at some distance on the coast. Three days sailing in continual danger, amid reefs, shoals, crooked and narrow ways, brought them to a spa-

cious bay, whence they had a view of the island whither they were bound. The natives, unaware of their intentions, and fearing their presence amongst them, appeared in great numbers on the shore with evidently hostile intentions. Armed with bows and arrows, and wearing on their heads a species of helmet of feathers, they made the coast ring with their voices. Their object was to intimidate the party on board; but, as soon as their friends who accompanied the Father had informed them of the kindly intentions of the missionary, and his desire for their welfare, having merely come amongst them as a teacher of religion, they presently laid their arms aside, ceased their vociferations, and received all with affection.

It was then agreed upon by the people to give the Father the best reception in their power. A levee, in which each should be presented to the missionary and receive his benediction, seemed to them the ceremony best befitting the occasion. A hut was accordingly improvised, a short distance from the shore. Thither the Father was borne, though suffering intensely from an internal affection, induced by over-exertion and exposure to damp. Seated in the little hut, to which there were two openings, one for ingress and the other for egress, the reception begun. It consisted, as we have intimated, in each one presenting himself before the missionary, bowing profoundly, and receiving his blessing. The ceremony ended, the

Father returned to the vessel, and proceeded on his mission of surveying the coast. For several days, his sickness allowed him not a moment's repose, night and day he suffered the most excruciating torments. The unpleasantness of his position was further increased by a scarcity of provisions, and the dangers which now threatened his vessel. The unusual tempestuous state of the sea at that time, made it very uncertain whether the bilander would be able to weather the storm. She had already parted her cable, and was rolling heavily in the trough of the sea. A wave had carried away the bowsprit and cross, a circumstance which the Christians interpreted most unfavorably for themselves; for, with the emblem of salvation, they imagined that the protection of Heaven had gone. Cheered and sustained, however, by the encouraging voice of the Father, they labored, each at his post, and succeeded eventually in recasting the anchor. The danger then passed, the storm abated, the waves subsided. He who said to the waters of Galilee, "Peace, be still," had come to their aid, and saved them from death. The following day the cross was recovered and again fixed in its place.

It being now manifest from the evidence obtained that a harbor such as they sought was not to be found, they resolved upon abandoning the inhospitable shore, and returning to Loretto. Accordingly, on the second July, the anchor was

weighed, and the vessel on her way back to the mission. Three days later, they arrived at the opposite side of the gulf, where an unexpected occurrence caused the party the loss of one of the boats, and well nigh proved fatal to some of the crew. In consequence of the rapidity of the coast current, the bilander was prevented from riding with her head to the wind. To remedy this, the pilot, with some of his companions proceeded in a boat along the coast in search of a more suitable anchorage. While visiting some Indians at a distance, they found, on returning to the shore, that the sea had risen with great violence, dashed the boat on the rocks and completely disabled her. So entire was the ruin, that no hope of repairing her for permanent use could be entertained by any. In their necessity, in order to get back to their companions, they were obliged to have recourse to invention. The boat having been parted, the pieces were fastened with nails extracted from the oars, the line and painter supplying the place of oakum, while a few handfuls of clay were used instead of tar. In this frail, unseaworthy craft, the water rushing in at every part, they had to take the chances of reaching their comrades. It was indeed, a perilous adventure; but there was no avoiding the danger, unless they were ready to accept the still more terrible alternative of perishing from want. Their danger seemed to increase at every moment, for the water was gaining rapidly

upon them, so that, even when in sight of the bilander, they had despaired of their lives. The little craft, however, carried them through, and brought them to their companions.

The pinnacle meantime had been coasting on a similar errand. Her crew in like manner were threatened with danger, but of a different kind. Their stock of provisions having been entirely expended, they were thrown into the greatest distress, from which they were only relieved by the kindness of the natives who happily came to their aid.

On returning to the ship, where the result of their search was anxiously awaited, the intention of immediately returning to the mission was abandoned, and a more thorough examination of the coast determined on. Orders were accordingly given for proceeding still further to the north on the eastern side. After some days they arrived at the head of the Gulf. The color of the water as they approached the junction of the land showed them that they were in the vicinity of the Colorado; a little further on and they came to its embouchure, which then, in consequence of the late storm, was pouring a great volume of turbid water into the sea. The frequent recurrence of logs, trees and huts borne down by the current was evidence of the havoc made on the land by the tempest. When the flood had subsided the men were desirous of ascending the river and examining the country, but were dissuaded by the Father, whose

judgment led him to suppose that another storm was imminent, by which, if overtaken, their lives would be in the most imminent peril. Moreover a further examination was unnecessary, as they had now obtained all the information they sought. The danger, too, to be apprehended from the tides, which in those parts rose with frightful impetuosity, overflowing the country to a considerable distance, was an additional motive why they should hasten their return. A council was accordingly held, in which it was resolved, that as the vessel was in danger from wind and tides, it was more prudent to return immediately. The decision was received with expressions of joy, and so on the 16th of July the anchor was weighed, and the vessel on her way to Loretto.

Their return was not as favorable as they anticipated. As they sailed down the coast they were visited by a violent storm, accompanied with rain, which threatened their imminent destruction. The violence of the tempest was such that the Father, fearing the loss of some of his men, ordered the mate and those who were with him to abandon the pinnacle and get aboard the bilander. That officer, however, was unwilling to abandon his craft; she had brought him to the head of the Gulf, and he trusted she would carry him home. Arrived at the isles of Puedes they were in the midst of their danger, being constantly in the peril of being driven on the shoals and rocks by the winds and

currents they experienced. The currents were dangerous, not only on account of their force and rapidity, but especially because of their irregular course, running, as it is stated, in intersected gyrations. Meantime the storm, which had increased to a tempest, raged with terrible fury. The angry waters leaped and howled around the devoted bark. Through the spars and rigging the roaring of the wind was a portent of immediate destruction, while from stem to stern, as each succeeding wave hurled its foaming water against the vessel's side or swept in fury over its decks, every plank and beam was shivered, and trembled as if ready to start from its place. Everything, indeed, but one looked ominous and foreboding to the crew. For three successive nights around the cross on the bowsprit might be seen the fire of St. Elmo, which, under the circumstances, the faith of the party construed into a pledge of divine favor. The name of the vessel, too, the *Triumph of the Cross*, inspired them with additional confidence, and partially sustained them in their more perilous moments. Their position was yet a most critical and dangerous one. Of the eight-and-twenty men who were on board only five were now capable of duty. Colds, scurvy and rheumatic disorders had disabled the others. Father Ugarte himself was suffering from scurvy. The whole safety of the crew then depended on the five able-bodied men. For eight successive days they battled with the

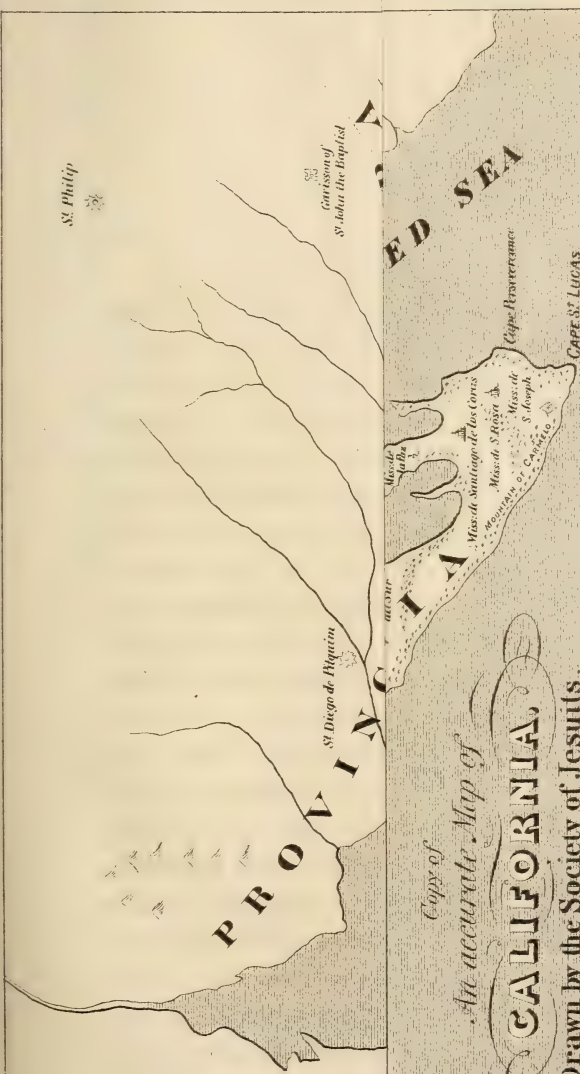
winds and currents, when at last their efforts were crowned with success, and they cast anchor at one of the islands. This was the more fortunate, as the storm increased at this time to such a terrible pitch that the bilander would certainly have foundered had she not been sheltered by the land.

After a stay of four days at this place, during which the condition of the sick became somewhat improved, they started on their return on the 18th of August. A favorable wind soon brought them beyond the last of the currents which run toward the Californian coast. The unusual appearance of three rainbows over the island which they had quitted, was regarded by all as a favorable omen. The danger over, their hearts again grew light. The expectation of quickly joining their friends, made them forget past trials and dangers; nor was any further trouble anticipated by any. But, in this their calculations were erroneous. Before reaching their homes, one of those storms, or violent hurricanes, which are the terror of the mariner, burst suddenly on the vessel. Hardly was there time to furl the sails. The storm was accompanied by a darkness which completely obscured the light of day. The rain fell in torrents from the clouds; the sea swelled and broke frightfully over the vessel. The thunder boomed with appalling force, while the lightning, which at intervals lit up the momentous scene, revealed the

ocean in its wildest and most terrible state. What added to the peril of the moment was, that, amid the lurid glare of the forked lightning, they could see distinctly approaching them, an enormous column or spout of water, which, unless stayed or changed from its course, would inevitably carry them to a watery grave. Amid this general complication of evils, they had one encouraging thought to sustain them. They were engaged in the service of religion; their voyage had been undertaken in the interest of Heaven; and, surely, that Providence, in whose hands are the destinies of all, would not be unmindful of their danger. With hopeful, trustful minds, they turn their eyes to the symbol of salvation—the cross on the vessel's prow. The winds may blow, the sea may swell, the thunder roar and the lightning flash, but the cross is ever the sign of safety and salvation. Mary, too, whose honor they are seeking to promote, will not fail to be an advocate in their cause. Fondly and fervently they pray to the God of heaven and earth to come to their aid—to avert the dreaded calamity. Their prayers are heard; the Deity is propitious to their cries. The course of the spout is changed, the winds are shifted, the thunder dies on the deep, the darkness is dispelled and the danger is over! With grateful, thankful minds, they pursue their course, and safely arrive at Concepcion Bay, on the Californian coast, at the beginning of September, 17—.

The advantages resulting from this voyage and survey of the coast, were chiefly the following: It was proved, in the first instance, to the satisfaction of all, what some, even till then, regarded as uncertain, that California was a peninsula, and that the Philippine vessels never sailed into the gulf by a northern passage. In the second place, the examination was important, as serving to give a proper idea of the coast; for, in the previously formed maps, harbors, bays and islands were represented where they did not exist. In this sense, then, the voyage answered one of the ends for which it was undertaken. In a religious point the results were alike important, for the places where missions might be established with advantage on the coast were carefully noted. But as no bay with the proper accommodations of water and fuel was found, it was clear, that to provide for the safety of the Philippine vessels, it would be necessary to establish a colony and garrison on the southern coast, and in order to this the indefatigable Father Ugarte, on returning from the expedition of which we have spoken, set out for its survey. Father Tamaral, another of the missionary Fathers, also surveyed at this time, in accordance with the desire of the Viceroy, a large portion of the western coast. An account of these surveys was transmitted to Madrid, but whether it safely arrived is unknown. This, however, is certain, that no action was taken by Government in the matter.

Besides the general advantages resulting from these expeditionary surveys of the coast, there were also, as we have intimated, the probable advantages likely to result to religion. The northern part of the country, because of the more fertile nature of the soil and the larger supply of fresh water, was manifestly better adapted for the establishment of permanent missions than the southern extremity of the peninsula. The character of the northern inhabitants, too, their capabilities and natural virtues showed them more fitted for the reception of the gospel. From the information received it was learned that while the one was of a more peaceful and faithful disposition, of a purer morality and a better and higher development of intellect, the others, or southern people, were for the most part implacable, vindictive and treacherous, the other vices common to their nature, such as sloth, fraud and lasciviousness, assuming equally grievous proportions amongst them. The same motives, however, which under different circumstances would have determined the Fathers to have given the preference to the northern people in the matter of missions, compelled them in this case to begin with the south. Until the southern tribes were brought to a knowledge of the truth and reclaimed from their barbarous state, the missions already established were in danger of ruin, and free communication entirely impossible. On different occasions the southern



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An accurate Map of

CALIFORNIA,

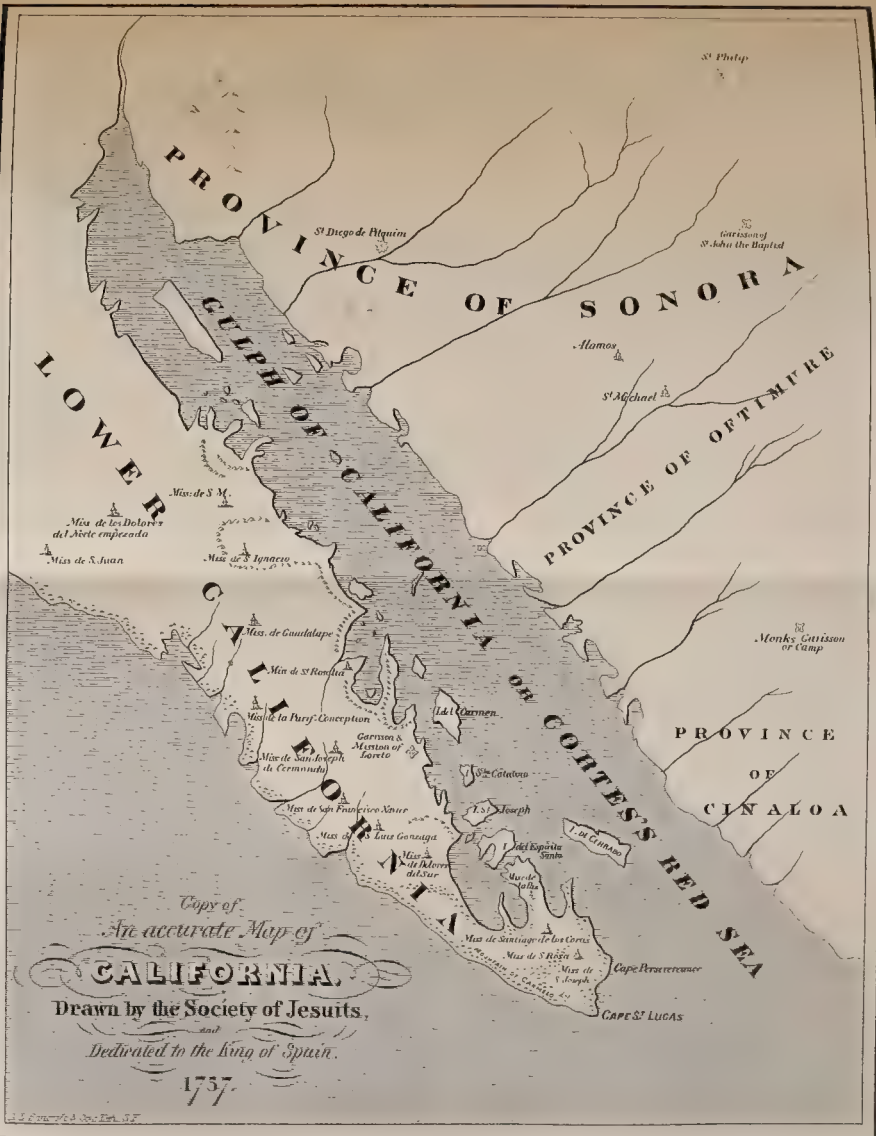
Drawn by the Society of Jesuits,

and

Dedicated to the King of Spain,

1737.

By E. Hieronimo A. Caro Lina, S.J.





gentiles gave evidence of the spirit by which they were led, frequently molesting their neighbors, and carrying their depredations so far as to plunder the Christians.

To proceed, then, with order and security, it was necessary rather to continue the establishment of missions to the south than to the north. To this end two additional establishments were formed between Cape St. Lucas and the Mission Dolores. The funds for the establishment of these missions were supplied by the Marquis of Villa Puente—a nobleman whose name deserves the most honorable mention, on account of his large and munificent donations in behalf of religion. The first of these missions, which was formed between the countries of the Uchities and the Guacuros, was entrusted to Father Guillen, and dedicated to our Lady of Dolores. The labors this Father endured in forming this mission exceeded everything undergone by his brethren, while the happy results were in keeping with his noble exertions. Not content with preaching the gospel to those in whose immediate vicinity he had fixed his abode, he sought out all the neighboring tribes scattered in every direction, and after converting them to the faith, induced them to settle in little communities, to which he gave the following beautiful names: Conception, Incarnation, Trinity, Redemption and Resurrection. Three other villages were also among the results of his labors. In fine, so

eminently successful were his earnest efforts in the behalf of the gentiles, that by his individual labor alone all the inhabitants of that section of the country, for one hundred miles, from the Pacific to the Gulf, were brought to a knowledge of the faith. Nor must it be imagined that he only gave them a tincture of religion, without grounding them in the principal duties thereof; for, in the subsequent rebellion which happened in the south, the Christians belonging to these missions not only remained firm in their attachment to the faith, but even offered an asylum to the Fathers who had been banished by their own.

The other mission, of which I have spoken as having been founded at this time, was established among the Coras, not far from the Cape. On the arrival of the party, they found that the Indians had withdrawn from the locality, and retired to the north. Why they should have done so, was entirely unknown to the Father; nor were his suspicions diminished, but rather increased, on seeing, while walking one evening on the shore, a number of people rushing furiously toward him, shouting and threatening at the same time. They were headed by a leader of enormous proportions, painted with variegated colors, and fantastically dressed. A hair cloak hung loosely over his shoulders, a girdle of antelopes' feet encircled his loins, in one hand he had a fan, and in the other a quiver and bow. The wild and frightful appear-

ance of the men, their dreadful howlings and threatening gestures, caused the Father to believe that they were certainly bent on his destruction, and that his last hour had inevitably come. In the emergency, he found he had only one thing to do—to offer the sacrifice of his life to the Almighty, and to await the result. Suppressing, as much as he was able, his natural timidity, conformably to the instructions he had received, he advanced boldly, without betraying his internal emotions, though at the time, from the very fantastic appearance of the leader, he was inclined to believe it was the Spirit of Darkness who was urging the savages to attack him, as the minister of Christ. On the approach of the party, he gave them to learn that he was highly affronted at their extraordinary conduct, in seeking to frighten him by numbers and gestures; and then, in order to conciliate their affections, he distributed amongst them some trifles he happened to have on his person, inviting them at the same time to accompany him to the camp, where he would be able to give them a better proof of his esteem. The firmness and resolution, combined with the presents, produced the most favorable results, and the people agreed to accompany him as he desired. Arrived at the camp, he bestowed on them such articles as he had brought for that purpose, with which they were highly delighted; but, on departing, requested him, if he would have them return,

to get rid of the dogs and other animals he had, of which they were exceedingly afraid, never having seen such in their lives. On the following day, they returned in great numbers, bringing such presents as their poverty permitted, to which a suitable return was made in pozzoli, sackcloth and trifles.

On the arrival of the party that proceeded by sea, the establishment of the mission was begun, the ground was cleared, the position of the buildings determined, the foundations dug, and the clay prepared; as soon, however, as the works began to assume a definite form, the Indians on a sudden disappeared. Their suspicions were aroused. In their minds, the labors of the Father were to be interpreted unfavorably for them. The Coras and Guacuros were inveterate enemies. The Father had come from the territory of the latter, and had even brought with him some of that nation. The walls of the church, though only of clay, were intended as a fortress. The fact of entering into friendly relations with them at all, was none other than with the view of securing their ruin. At a favorable moment, the Guacuros would come, at the Father's monition, and destroy them as a race. It was, therefore, incumbent they should abandon the district, and consult for their safety, by retiring to a distance.

The Father, on noticing their absence, immediately sought out their retreat; and, although he

succeeded in allaying the fears and removing the suspicions of some, the majority were unwilling to trust his assertion. And, in order the better to secure themselves against their imaginary enemy, the men took the precaution of watching by night, aided by the blaze of great fires they kept burning for that purpose. For two days they remained confirmed in their opinion; nor was it any use to attempt to dissuade them therefrom, for as soon as the Father made his appearance, they invariably fled from his presence. Left to themselves, they gradually returned to the mission, and when convinced of their error, requested their children might be admitted to baptism, and a friendship formed between them and their hereditary enemies, the Coras. Thus, what at first seemed the destruction of the mission, resulted eventually in a work of the highest importance—the reconciliation of those inveterate enemies, and their preparation in this manner for the truths of religion.

The reconciliation of the tribes was followed by the baptism of a large number of children, which was only the beginning of greater success, for the women were constantly bringing their offspring and begging a like favor of the Father. After a time the seat of the mission was removed nearer to La Paz in consequence of the greater facility in obtaining provisions, but through accident the change was near proving its ruin. While the walls of the new building were yet devoid of a roof there occurred one of those terrible storms of which we

have spoken above. The Father was absent at the time assisting the dying. The natives, in order to save themselves from the violence of the hurricane, took refuge in the church, but unhappily, the walls being weak, the building was overturned and resulted in the death of some of the people, the mutilation of others, and a most terrible fear to the remainder. The general impression created in the minds of the friends was of the most unfavorable kind. The Father, they believed, was the cause of the calamity; it had been premeditated by him, nor could they be persuaded to the contrary till they learned from the people themselves that they had retired there unasked.

It has been stated above that on the occasion of Father Piccolo's visit to the Cadigomos, that people requested a mission to be established among them, but that circumstances at the time prevented the Father from complying with their request. An occasional visit from the neighboring mission for the next two-and-twenty years was all that could be done for this tribe in order to preserve their holy desires. The time had at last arrived when their wants could be supplied. In 1727 there arrived in California Father John Baptist Laymundo, a Mexican Jesuit, who not only offered to take upon himself the care of that people, but even put his fortune at the disposal of his superior for a like end. In January of the following year he set out from Loretto for the scene of his labors, and on the 20th of the month arrived

at the place. The first impressions created in his mind were most favorable. The people expressed their satisfaction at his coming amongst them, by crowding around him and offering to perform for him the little services he needed. When his presence became known through the country hundreds of the inhabitants hastened to pay their respects. On the other hand the difficulties he had to encounter were not so embarrassing as in ordinary cases, for, in consequence of the occasional visits previously made to that people, they were found to be partly instructed in the principal doctrine of faith. Moreover, the assiduity with which they applied themselves to the essentials of religion enabled him within a little to confer baptism on several. How many he admitted to the sacrament is not known, but it would appear that the number was large, inasmuch as from the commencement of the mission he had five hundred catechumens under instruction. The Father's spiritual functions were so numerous that he had no time to devote to the temporal concerns of the mission, but in this his place was supplied by the soldiers and Indians who speedily erected the necessary buildings. The successes he met with from the outset so encouraged and animated him in the discharge of his duty that, like others of his brethren, he extended his labors to the neighboring tribes, reclaimed them from a wandering life, opened their minds to religion and science, and finally established them in Christian communities.

CHAPTER XVI.

DIFFICULTY IN CONVERTING THE RELIGIOUS TEACHERS. — INSURRECTION AND MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS. — RETALIATION. — CAPTURE OF INSURGENTS. — DEATH OF FATHERS PICCOLO AND UGARTE. — ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS. — FATHERS ECHIVERIA AND SIGISMUND TARAYAL. — INSURRECTION. — MASSACRE OF FATHERS CARANCO AND TAMARAL. — GREAT DANGER TO THE MISSIONS. — ALL THE FATHERS RETIRE TO LORETTO. — GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO COME TO THEIR AID. — SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION. — A PHILIPPINE VESSEL ARRIVES AT ST. LUCAS. — THIRTEEN OF THE CREW MASSACRED.

FROM what has been said in the closing part of the preceding chapter, it must not be inferred that Father Laymundo's labors were uniformly successful in bringing the savages to a knowledge of the Christian religion. Though in most instances his teaching met with a ready response at the hands of the people, there were those who remained steadfast in error and persistently disregarded his ministry. Of these the sorcerers and aged were especially remarkable; nor, indeed, are we to be astonished at this, for while their conversion from error to the religion of Christ put an end in the one instance to their sources of profit and power, and in the other to the indulgence of their unnatural lusts and desires, to which, from their childhood, they were habitually given; it further placed on their liberty a most painful restraint by requiring their regular attendance at the obligatory du-

ties of the mission. Neither was it without a struggle with themselves that those who before had been in the capacity of teachers could now be induced to take the rank of disciples and receive instruction at the hands of a stranger. A few years, however, of constant, patient attention on the part of the Father, aided by divine grace, brought even these to a knowledge of God, and then the venerable missionary had the consolation of seeing his labors crowned with success upon all sides. What aided him materially in the correction of vice and the reform of manners, was the communication maintained between him and the more virtuous, by whom he was kept constantly informed of the irregularities which happened to occur. The construction of roads from the principal mission to the different stations by which easy access was obtained to the whole of the people, was also an additional means whereby religion was greatly subserved. But even with all his successes and spiritual conquests, Father Laymundo was not without his reverses.

Instigated, no doubt, by the malice of the enemy of mankind at the great progress of religion, and the flourishing state of the missions in general, a body of the gentiles, living at a distance, made an incursion against some of the Christians, fell upon a village, killed three of the faithful, and would have butchered the others had they not fled for protection to the principal mission. The

neighboring Christians immediately took up the cause of their brethren, and were proceeding against the marauders till prevented by the Father, who falsely supposed that forbearance would effect what arms might fail to accomplish. In this he was greatly deceived, for according to their barbarous notions kindness proceedeth from weakness, and forbearance from cowardice. They were accordingly only encouraged in their iniquitous course, plundering and pillaging before them, and carrying their insolence so far as to threaten the principal mission. It being then clearly apparent to all, that forbearance and moral persuasion were entirely inadequate to repel the invaders, the Christians of the different villages assembled and armed in order to punish the guilty. Their arms consisted of bows and arrows, and spears, to which knives were attached with the view of rendering them still more effective. Even the very women engaged in the movement, and lent a hand to make the expedition a success. Every preparation being made, the warriors were reviewed, when it was found that their numbers were seven hundred or more, but the commissariat not being sufficient for so many, they were reduced to one half. They were formed into two companies, commanded each respectively by a captain appointed, one by the Father, and one by the natives. Thus equipped, they set out in quest of the enemy and soon discovered his posi-

tion, but in order to guard against a reverse it was resolved to await the cover of night before making the attack. The tactics answered remarkably well, for the enemy, finding himself surrounded by the Christians, surrendered at pleasure without striking a blow. Two of the number, however, favored by the darkness of the night, found means to escape, and with some others of their companions, who happened to be detached from the main body, precipitately fled from the locality and returned to their homes.

The Christians now returned in triumph to the mission with their captives, and repaired in the first instance to the church, where solemn thanksgiving was offered to God for the victory they had obtained over their enemies. The following day, the prisoners were made to appear, and on being convicted of rebellion, robbery, and murder, were sentenced to be removed to Loretto, there to undergo the penalty of capital offences. The result of the trial was received by the Christians with general joy, for now they imagined an opportunity was offered them of revenging themselves on their inveterate enemies. In this they were mistaken; for, at the earnest request of the Father, the sentence of death was commuted to a certain number of lashes; and even this was further reduced, the principal murderer or ringleader only being made to suffer the penalty. The effect of this unusual lenity was not without its beneficial results on the

minds of the Christians and Pagans. In it the former received a lesson of moderation, and the latter an idea of the mildness and lenity of a system which, while in its power to punish, was content with so little.

On being restored to their liberty, the savages, touched by the kindness of the Fathers, and edified at what they had seen at the mission, begged to be received among the number of the faithful. In order to test their sincerity, it was deemed more advisable not to readily accede to their request; the matter was accordingly deferred for a time. That they were, however, sincere in their desires was afterwards seen, for after a little they returned to the mission and begged as a favor that their children, at least, might be admitted to baptism. To this the Fathers complied, and after some time admitted the adults themselves, who, together with their families and friends, had come to the mission for that purpose.

The time had now come when the missions were to be deprived of some of their ablest and most devoted supporters. Father Francis Piccolo and Father John Ugarte were of this number. The former, after a life of remarkable fidelity and success, ended his life in the garrison of Loretto, at the venerable age of seventy-three, two-and-thirty of which he spent as missionary in reclaiming the California aborigines. The latter closed his career at the age of seventy, at the little village of St.

Paul, after having spent thirty years of his life in the country. The remarkable works effected by these venerable men should never be forgotten; they were, indeed, apostles in the true sense of the word. To their exertions, in a great measure, must be attributed the establishment and progress of religion in the country. Not only the numbers they brought into the church, which were great, but the heroic endeavors they made to provide for their temporal wants, rank them amongst the most remarkable missionaries of the Catholic Church, and the greatest benefactors of mankind.

In 1729, the year in which Father Piccolo died, Father Echiveria, formerly agent for the missions at Mexico, was appointed visitor of California. From a letter of his to a friend, dated February 10th, 1730, we get a glimpse of the character of the converts made by the missionaries:

“ I set out to visit the missions, beginning with St. Xavier, and continuing to St. Ignatius, of the north, which is the last and most distant from here, about eighty leagues. The whole took me forty-eight days, the cold being severer here than in Guapungo in January. But I was well rewarded for all these fatigues, were it only in seeing *the fervor of these new Christian establishments*; and the least I could do was to shed tears of joy at so frequently hearing God praised by the mouths of poor creatures who very lately did not as much as know that there was any such Being.”

After visiting the different Christian settlements, Father Echiveria determined upon establishing two additional missions, one of which was entrusted to the care of the Rev. Father Taraval. The reader will appreciate the labors of this missionary, on learning that in the space of a single year he reclaimed from their savage state, and brought to a knowledge of religion, no less than one thousand and thirty-six of the inhabitants. The importance of this conquest can only be properly estimated by remembering the character of the people, and their utter disinclination to lead a virtuous and orderly life. The constant and numerous restraints laid on their passions by the principles of religion, to which they eventually submitted, was an evidence of the triumph of divine grace, and the success of the missionaries' endeavors.

According to the intentions of Father Echiveria, the other mission was established for the Coras, and to this Father Sigismund Taraval was appointed as pastor. This excellent missionary was a man of more than ordinary ability and virtue. His father, who was a Milanese, served with distinction in the army, in which he held the rank of Lieutenant-General. Young Taraval entered the novitiate at Madrid, and, after going through a part of his studies at Alcala, was sent to complete them at Mexico. There his virtues, ability and earnest desire to consecrate himself to the service

of the gentiles, pointed him out as a suitable person for the arduous mission of California.

While awaiting instructions to proceed to the immediate scene of his labors, he visited some of the neighboring islands, where he found a few scattered inhabitants, whom he persuaded to accompany him to the mainland in order to be instructed in the Christian religion. All, with the exception of a sorcerer, readily complied with his request, and even he, on learning that he was to be entirely abandoned, changed his ideas and accompanied the people. All things being in readiness, the missionary now proceeded to his mission in the vicinity of Palmas Bay. The visits previously made to that people by Fathers Napoli, Caranco and Tamaral, had partly prepared them for the work of conversion, and to this, in a great measure, must be attributed the success that attended the Father's exertions from the beginning. Though in every instance his preaching was not followed by any practical result, for there were those who, on account of their irregular lives, refused to listen to his words, yet, such were the general fruits of his labor, that by the end of the year he had instructed and baptized the greater part of the people in his district, and to the fidelity and affection of these he was afterward indebted for his life during the general rebellion which subsequently happened.

Up to the year 1731, when the last mentioned mission was established, the labors of the Fathers

had been attended in almost every instance with remarkable success. The missions established and the conversions effected were evidence of this. Another twenty or thirty years of like success, and the entire country would be brought to a knowledge of God. But from the successes of the past we are not to judge of the future. A new and unexpected embarrassment was now thrown in their way, and all but resulted in the ruin and destruction of their hitherto well-earned conquests.

The greatest difficulties the missionaries found from the beginning in reclaiming the savages was that of inducing them to observe the principles of the natural law by placing a proper restraint on their irregular lusts and desires. The debauchery and brutal excesses in which they had previously lived, without the smallest remorse, rendered the morality and obligations of the Christian religion most irksome and disagreeable in their eyes. To this is to be attributed the calamities that originated at this time, and unhappily resulted in the death of two of the Fathers and the destruction of all the southern missions.

The Governor of the Mission of Santiago de la Coras, who was a Christian, born of a mulatto and an Indian, was a lewd, dissolute man. His name was Botan. It is proper to remark that he had been promoted to his post because of his superior intelligence, and the influence he possessed with his countrymen. For a time his conduct was good,

but unwilling to submit to the constant restraint of religion, he returned to his former excesses, for which he was frequently rebuked by the Father. When it was found that neither rebuke nor entreaties had any effect on his conduct it was deemed necessary to deprive him of his office and publicly punish him, lest his evil example might be the cause of ruin to others. Instead of bringing him to a sense of religion, the well-merited chastisement only filled him with rancor and caused him to form a conspiracy against the life of the Father. In this he would in all probability have accomplished his end had not the missionary been forewarned of his design. But though the nefarious attempt was abortive, the consequences were still injurious to religion, for by it the minds of the people were upset and the seeds of rebellion extensively sown.

Defeated in his impious purpose, Botan immediately betook himself for counsel and shelter to a gentile Cazique, who was also a dissolute character, living in like manner with a great number of women. Chicori, for this was the gentile's name, had also been incensed against the Religious, and had made an attempt on his life for having been reproved for stealing a girl from the mission. The resolution come to by these two profligate men was to murder the Father, and root christianity out of that part of the country; that thus they might be the better enabled to indulge in their accustomed de-

baucheries. The influence they possessed over the minds of the people made them most formidable enemies, especially as the Father had nothing to rely on but the fidelity and affection of the newly-made converts. The more readily to carry out their wicked designs, these two dissolute chiefs, with armed bodies of followers, lay in wait for Father Taraval, who was then about to return from a visit to a brother Religious. Owing to the vigilance and fidelity of the Christians, the Father was apprised of the danger, as in the first instance, and thus narrowly escaped with his life. The danger to religion being then manifestly great, the Christians of the neighboring mission, at the suggestion of the pastor, took up arms to rid themselves of the enemy, and not without purpose. On seeing the faithful in such overwhelming numbers, the gentiles hastily withdrew from the locality and returned to their homes.

The two chiefs, Chicori and Botan, thus finding their plans unavailing, and their numbers greatly diminished, through motives of policy, lest the Christians would fall on them and massacre them without pity, thought best to make their submission, and ask pardon for their offences. A peace was accordingly sued for and granted. But, inasmuch as it was unreal on the part of the chiefs, having been merely solicited with the view of strengthening their position, and of maturing their plans; as soon as circumstances permitted, they

assumed their former hostility and this time with unhappy effect. From the beginning, under the delusive appearance of a general tranquillity, there was alive a spirit of revolt, created by the leaders and shared in by their followers. What is most humiliating, and almost unaccountable is, that even some of the Christians entered into the conspiracy—lent a willing ear to the suggestions of Chicori and his friend, and this at a time when they were receiving the bounty of the Father, and attending the regular exercises of the mission.

As soon as the conspirators considered themselves sufficiently strong, they resolved to make the attack, and put an end to religion. The only opposition they expected was on the part of the soldiers; but as their number was small—amounting only to three—they looked upon success as a certainty. To make certainty, however, more certain, they waylaid one of the soldiers, and having slain him, hastened to the mission, and informed the Father that his friend had been taken suddenly ill in the woods, and begged him to go and confess him, or at least to send one of the guards to bring him to the house. The strangeness of the case, and the confusion and embarrassment betrayed by the actors, led the Father to suspect that something was wrong, and that a project existed for murdering himself and his guard, by dividing their strength. His suspicions were further increased, and, indeed, the truth all but satis-

factorily seen, on learning that the same or another body of rebels had killed the other member of the guard then in charge of the mission of La Paz. At such a critical juncture, prudence might have dictated to the missionary to retire for a time from the field of his labors; but under the circumstances, he did not consider himself justified in abandoning his post. Meantime the spirit of rebellion was daily increasing, till at length, unable to be further restrained, it burst forth in all its terrible violence, and swept as a torrent over that and the other southern missions. Friday, the first day of October, was the day fixed upon for the rising. The conspirators had determined upon attacking, in the first instance, the mission of which Father Caranco was pastor; when they would next direct their attention to other reverend missionaries. What renders the crime the more odious and unnatural is, that some of those belonging to the missions, on whom the Father had especially relied, were engaged in the plot. Before making the attack, the conspirators happening to encounter a body of the neophytes, returning from the neighboring mission, with a letter for the Father, made use of them to carry out their design. The plan was to throw the Religious off his guard, and prevent him from using any means of defence—a proceeding which resulted entirely according to their desires; for, while engaged in reading the epistle, the conspirators rushed violently into the dwell-

ing, seized upon the venerable man, and dragging him without, as he prayed for his enemies, pierced him with arrows, finishing the deed of blood with clubs and stones. Meantime, some of the murderers happening to espy the Father's little attendant weeping for the fate of his master, immediately seized him by the feet, and dashed out his brains on the floor. The noise of the attack drew the entire village to the spot, and though several expressed their horror at the enormity of the crime, they were unable to render any assistance in saving the mission as they beheld among the murderers some of the principal men of the place.

From this the reader may learn the fickle and giddy dispositions of the natives. Those who in the morning joined with the Father in his devotions, an hour or two later united with his enemies in depriving him of life. To finish their bloody intent, they resolved upon burning the body, but before doing so, subjected it to the most shameful and execrable insults, at which the biographer has only delicately hinted: "The several shocking enormities they perpetrated on his lifeless corpse," (says Father Venegas,) "together with abominable scurrilities, before they committed it to the flames, are best passed over in silence, only observing that their barbarity and brutal insults evidently showed that the great object of their rage and indignity was the doctrine newly introduced by the Father, especially as it required

chastity and moderation." Then, amid the wildest scene of ribaldry, tumult and execration, the bodies of Lorenzo Caranco and his little attendant were tossed into the flames. Thus died on the first of October, in the year of our Lord 1734, the first martyr of the Californian Church.

The murderers, having now nothing to fear, directed their attention to the pillage of the presbytery and church. Whatever articles they could appropriate to any use they retained; the remainder they burned. Pictures, statues, mass-books, chalices, etc., were hurled indiscriminately into the fire. The Father's two domestics happening to return at this moment, arrived on the scene only to share the same fate as their master.

From Santiago, the name of the mission thus ruined, the murderers directed their steps to the mission of San José. Their numbers had now considerably increased, for independent of the accession they received at the last mentioned place, others had flocked to them from different parts. On Sunday, the 3rd of October, two days after the massacre at St. James, they arrived at San José. It was about eight o'clock in the morning. Father Tamaral, who was entirely unprepared for their visit, was sitting quietly in his apartment when he was aroused at seeing a great body of men rushing tumultuously for the door. On entering they began demanding different articles, which, if denied them, they were ready to turn into an occasion of

quarrel, that thus they might have a pretext for murdering the venerable man. Realizing their evil designs, the Father, in order to leave them without an excuse, mildly replied that there was sufficient for all. Thus disappointed in finding a pretext for crime, they fell presently upon him, knocked him to the ground, dragged him from the house, and, as in the case of his brother Religious, dispatched him with arrows and stones. As if to put a climax to their infamy and to render ingratitude more patent, while breathing his last, they resorted to the horrible extreme of cutting his throat with one of those knives which he had purchased for their use! Such was the death of the Rev. Father Tamaral, the second Californian missionary of the Society of Jesus, who died for the faith after having labored for the conversion of the people eighteen years and some months. By birth Father Tamaral was a Spaniard, having been born in Seville in 1687. In 1712 he proceeded to Mexico, whence four years later he entered on the field of his labors. The same shocking enormities were practiced on his corpse as in the case of Father Caranco, the only difference, if any, being that there was less restraint and decorum observed by the infuriated rabble.

The rebels next proceeded to the mission of St. Rose, but here they were happily disappointed, for the Father, having received information of their coming, found means of escape. Disappointed in

their designs on the life of the Religious, they turned their rage against the Christians of the place, and butchered, without mercy, all that fell into their hands, to the number of eight-and-twenty, the others having succeeded in making their escape.

The consequences likely to result to the country in general from this fierce spirit of rebellion were of the most dangerous and deplorable kind. As soon as the news of the murder of the missionaries and the destruction of the southern missions reached the ears of the other inhabitants, the half-subdued passions of many were fiercely aroused, and a malevolent desire created in their minds of ridding themselves of their new obligations in order to return to their former excesses. That this was not the sentiment of the majority was clear from the outset, but the danger which threatened the Fathers and their missions was, lest the Christians in general might be influenced by the voice and authority of the popular leaders, as often occurs in times of commotion. Did only the northern Indians follow the example of their southern brethren, spirited on by the advice of a few dissolute men, Christianity was lost in the country and the labors of a generation undone.

Whatever may have been the actual sentiments of the northern tribes I am unable to say, but it is certain that a general rising, having for its object the entire destruction of religion, was very much

feared. At this very critical juncture prudence dictated to the Superior of the missions to summon all the Religious to the principal station of Loretto, that by the protection of the garrison their lives might be saved. He also sent an account of the atrocities committed, and the ruin which threatened the country in general, to the Viceroy at Mexico, requesting his excellency, who comprised in his person the office of Governor and Archbishop, to take the necessary measures for the safety of his subjects and the interests of religion. The answer returned to the Father Superior, it is lamentable to think, was entirely unequal to the occasion. It was as unworthy of a minister of state as of a chief of religion. Spanish diplomacy never, indeed, seemed up to an emergency. The old stately routine of consulting the sovereign was to be maintained under every circumstance, even in the most exceptional cases. Thousands might perish, religion might suffer, the dependency may even be lost to the crown, but without conferring with the monarch, and learning his pleasure, no aid, not a soldier could be sent to the country. The answer of his excellency was in substance as follows: He was conscious of the dangers to which the country and religion were exposed—the perilous position of the Fathers could not for a moment be doubted. His powers, however, of Governor prevented him from acting in the matter. Should the Fathers think well of addressing his

majesty, he would use his endeavors to forward their interests.

The unfitness of a Governor for his position, was, probably, never more strikingly shown than in this. Language cannot too strongly condemn the weakness and imbecility of a man who would thus vainly trifle with the lives of the people and the best interests of religion. Four of the southern missions had been already destroyed, two of the missionaries massacred, the spirit of revolt on the increase, a general rising daily expected, and yet, with the knowledge of this, the archiepiscopal Governor of Mexico should wait till he received positive instructions from his majesty in Europe! The heartlessness of the proceeding was, indeed, only in keeping with the previous action of the Mexican Council, and proved most effectually that a government so managed required the first elements of power, and could not, for any great length of time prevent the dependency from falling into other and abler hands.

At the same time that Father Guillen, the Superior, wrote to the Governor of Mexico for aid, Father Bravo made a similar appeal to the Governor of Sinaloa, on the opposite coast, praying his excellency to send to their aid some fifty or more of the Indians, with a few of the soldiers. The Indians of that part were the Yaqui, and to their honor be it stated, that no sooner had they learned the state of affairs, and the very critical position

of the Fathers, than five hundred of them presented themselves armed, at the Bay, ready to start for California. As the vessel dispatched for the purpose was unable to accommodate that number, sixty of the ablest were chosen for the occasion; but, that the others might not be deprived of a share in the work, they presented their arms to their companions, and requested them to put them into the hands of the faithful, on landing. Thus the aid which might and ought to have been granted by a responsible government and a civilized people, was furnished by rude, recently converted aborigines.

From the moment that the Fathers, in obedience to the call of authority, had abandoned the missions and retired to Loretto, the general state of affairs assumed a more favorable aspect. The great majority of the Christians were, at least, sensible enough to understand that the priests were truly their friends, and that socially and morally they had improved their condition. The cause of the missionaries' retirement was clear to their minds; for, on leaving, they had carried away the ornaments and valuables of the churches. For the first time in their lives, these poor children of impulse began to realize a void in their lives—to see the necessity of their dependence on others, and the sweets and advantages of the Christian religion. To attempt the practice of Christianity without the Fathers, was impossible; to return to

their former wandering, miserable existence, they were unwilling. Gratitude, too, to those who so faithfully labored in their cause, providing not only for their spiritual, but temporal wants, spoke most forcibly to the hearts of the more reflective and better disposed, and failed not to elicit a ready response at their hands. In a word, their sorrow was real; and so, after a joint consultation, it was resolved to proceed to Loretto, in solemn procession, to implore the venerable missionaries not to abandon them to their miserable state. According to arrangement, numbers of the principal Christians started in procession for the garrison, bearing on their shoulders the crosses of the missions, and giving expression to their sorrow in an abundance of tears. Their petition was to the effect that as the Fathers had baptized and reclaimed them, they would not abandon them now, and suffer them to return to their former excesses. Their first and most earnest desire was to live and die in the holy Catholic Church; and, surely, it was unfit that the crimes of a few should be visited on all, especially as they were willing to denounce the insubordinate, and to deliver up to the authorities all who had spoken and acted amiss. Should the Fathers refuse to return, they would settle at Loretto, as they could not bear to be separated from their pastors.

These and other like arguments were urged with such an earnestness and apparent sincerity,

that the missionaries were moved to compassion; but, to assure themselves of the people's real intentions, they refused, at the outset, to comply with their request, yet suffered them to remain at the garrison. No evidence of an evil intent appearing in their conduct, the Fathers consented to return to the missions, where they were received by their flocks in a most gratifying manner. In order the better to maintain their authority, as also to satisfy the wishes of many, a nominal punishment was awarded the more culpable, and thus four of the principal disturbers were banished for a time, that the seeds of rebellion might not remain in the country.

The opportune arrival of the troops from Sinaloa, aided in establishing general tranquillity, and in strengthening the Father's position. The southern inhabitants, however, remained in a state of open hostility, and their insolence and animosity were even increased through an accident. Shortly after the massacre of Fathers Caranco and Tamaral, while the southern part of the peninsula was entirely in the hands of the rebels, the annual Philippine vessel called at the Cape, expecting to meet with a hospitable reception. On landing, thirteen of the men were sent by the Captain to give intelligence to the Father of the vessel's arrival, a few being left in charge of the pinnace. While proceeding from the beach in the direction of the village, they were suddenly attacked by a body of In-

dians, who rushed from an ambush, and massacred all on the spot. The murderers next rushed upon those in charge of the boat, and, as they were not on their guard, they too fell victims to their fury. This atrocity did not go without its reward. The Captain, surprised at the delay of his men, sent some of the crew to report on the matter. These, on seeing the mangled corpses of their companions, became so enraged, that they rushed madly upon the savages, and fully revenged the blood of their fallen companions. Immediately after, the Captain sailed for Mexican waters, where the news of the tragedy excited universal regret, and caused steps to be taken for the further chastisement of the offenders.

CHAPTER XVII.

PUNISHMENT OF THE RINGLEADERS IN THE LATE REBELLION.—ORDERS FROM HIS MAJESTY PHILIP V. TO ESTABLISH A GARRISON.—RESTORATION OF THE MISSIONS.—ORDERS OF FERDINAND V. FOR ESTABLISHING MEXICAN COLONIES.—A JUNCTURE TO BE FORMED BETWEEN THE MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA AND SONORA ON THE COLORADO.—FATHER KUHN'S LABORS IN SONORA.—FATHER SEDELMAYER EXAMINES THE COLORADO.—STATE OF RELIGION IN CALIFORNIA AT THAT PERIOD.—TERRIBLE EPIDEMIC.—DEATH OF FATHER BRAVO AND FATHER TEMPIS.—DEPARTURE OF FATHER SESTIAGO.

UPON learning of the disaster to the crew of the Spanish galleon, the Viceroy, for once in his life, acted as a responsible government agent. Without waiting to consult his majesty's pleasure, he immediately sent orders to the Governor of Sinaloa to proceed with all haste to California to check the rebellion and punish the ringleaders. Though obedient to the commands of the Viceroy, the course pursued by the Governor was but ill-suited to the object in view. By a constant display of benevolence and clemency, he vainly wasted his time and the means at his command. At the end of a couple of years, he learned that the reduction of the country was not to be effected as he expected. A just appreciation of the character of the people, and of the wild, ungovernable state in which they were then, might have assured him of this from the beginning. But neither the

advice of the Fathers, nor the lawlessness of the people was sufficient to disabuse him of his error. Experience eventually taught him the lesson.

Tired and disgusted at the continued hostility of the savages, he ultimately resorted to rigor, and made the disaffected understand the necessity of an immediate submission. In a general engagement, to which he had the fortune of bringing the rebels, he inflicted such losses on their numbers as to very much dishearten the leaders, yet not so as to cause them to retire entirely from the contest. A show of opposition was still maintained for a time, but ended in a second general encounter, wherein they were completely undone, when they surrendered at discretion, on the hope of a pardon. Among the captured were the two principal murderers of the recently massacred Fathers. On these, at least, justice should have demanded the exercise of capital punishment; but the incapacity and ill-timed clemency of the Governor only subjected them, with their companions in blood, to banishment to the coast of New Spain. This immunity, however, at the hands of the Governor, did not save them from the anger of Heaven; for a little while after, both of them fell victims to the Divine justice, having met with miserable and untimely deaths.

Letters were now received from his Majesty Philip V. ordering the Viceroy to establish a garrison at or near some of the southern missions, with the view of re-establishing and promoting

the conquest of the country. The establishment of garrisons had been already commanded by Government, as we have previously said, but from the supineness of underlings, nothing was done; and, to this inattention of Mexican officials must be attributed the losses sustained by religion during the rebellion.

One of the provisions of the newly-made order was to the effect that neither the officers nor soldiers should, in any way, depend upon the Fathers for their position, promotion or discharge. The reasonableness of this resolution may appear to the reader only in accordance with propriety and justice; yet the numerous evils to which it necessarily led, were even more detrimental to religion than the entire absence of all military aid. It was, in reality, only deciding in favor of the military the old question of trading and fishing for pearls. Experience, as we have said, had taught the Religious the dangers and inconveniences of this, and so, to avoid such an evil, it was necessary to strictly prohibit the speculation to all. Moreover, were the Fathers to tolerate such a system, independent of all acts of oppression, the soldiers would become negligent of their military duties; they would grow discontented with their subordinate position, and, in all probability, refuse to accompany the missionaries on their various excursions. That they were not mistaken herein, the subsequent state of affairs abundantly proves, for to such a state

of confusion and disorder did all things arrive, in consequence of the natives being sorely aggrieved, that the country was brought to the verge of another rebellion, which if it happened would, in all probability, have destroyed every vestige of Christianity in the land. The abnormal and confused state of affairs produced at length so many and such frequent complaints, that the Viceroy saw the necessity of changing his policy, and putting the garrison, as before, under the control of the Religious. To this wise regulation, which should never have been altered, was due the subsequent tranquillity of the peninsula, and the happy restoration of religion among the people.

As soon as the disturbed state of the country was brought into order under the renewed authority of the Fathers, new efforts were made by the society for the restoration of the lately destroyed missions. The dispersed Christians were once more gathered together, churches erected, and the services of religion revived. Those places stained with the blood of the missionaries were objects of special attention. The mission of Sanjago, where Father Caranco had been martyred, was entrusted to Father Anthony Tempis, a man of rare and solid virtue. By his constant and unwearied exertions he succeeded in winning back to religion and to habits of piety a remnant of the former inhabitants, among whom he continued to labor till death.

The outlay demanded for quelling the rebellion, as also for the establishment of the lately ruined missions, being more than the Father's resources could conveniently meet, an appeal to the monarch became necessary. The application, it is pleasing to think, was not without fruit. On the 10th of April, 1737, the Viceroy acquainted his Majesty with the state of affairs, and humbly represented that the Society stood in need of the favor of the crown. The representation was immediately attended to. On learning the critical state of affairs and the crippled resources of the Fathers, the King ordered that a garrison should be immediately formed, and the expenses required for completely reducing the country to be paid from the royal exchequer. He demanded, however, that the scheme for the general reduction of the peninsula be forwarded to himself for inspection and approval. A plan was accordingly drawn up and forwarded to Spain, to which, in due time, the royal assent was affixed with instructions for carrying it into effect. But before this could be done, on the 13th of November, 1744, another warrant was forwarded to the Viceroy demanding additional information on the matter. To this an answer was given by the Provincial of the Society at Mexico, but it did not arrive at Madrid till after the death of the King. His successor, Ferdinand VI., was equally interested in the scheme, and repeated his father's instructions to the Viceroy. The

purport of his letter to the Governor was to the effect, that it was the opinion of his council that measures should be immediately taken for the spiritual and temporal subjugation of the peninsula, and that such a result was only to be expected through the energy and zeal of the Jesuit missionary Fathers, under whose fostering care so many and such numerous infidel tribes were brought to a knowledge of the truth. He further expressed a desire that, in the neighborhood of all the principal harbors, there should be formed, as soon as circumstances permitted, Spanish or Mexican settlements, which would serve as a safeguard for vessels and a protection for the missionaries. A Spanish colony was likewise suggested to be settled in the interior, with the view of affording refuge to the Fathers in case of rebellion; while the whole of the frontier missions were to be guarded by troops subject to the Religious, and employed as their escorts when journeying through infidel territory. Further the royal instructions went on to suggest that a point of communication should, if possible, be established between the missions of Sonora and those of California at the entrance of the Colorado, or Red, river. But as the Pimas, the Cocomaricopas and Yumas, the inhabitants of those parts, were still pagan, the missionaries, in order to effect such a junction, should direct their attention to the conversion of those tribes. By these and other like means it was hoped that the entire

reduction of the country, both spiritual and temporal, would be securely accomplished. The royal instructions concluded by assuring the Reverend Fathers that the sums necessary for the accomplishment of these works would be furnished from his Majesty's treasury.

The instructions thus directed to the Governor of New Spain were in every way worthy of an enlightened and politic ruler. It has been stated above, that at the commencement of the Californian missions, Fathers Kühno and Salva Tierra had formed the noble and extensive design of converting and subjecting to Spain all the inhabitants along the Pacific from Mexico to Oregon. In the accomplishment of this it was contemplated that the one—Father Tierra—should carry on the work of conversion through the whole of the peninsula, and the other through the territory of Sonora and the countries of the Papagos and the Cocomaricopas, till he arrived as far north as the present limits of Alta California. That they would have succeeded in the scheme, had they from the beginning had such a monarch as Ferdinand for a patron, there is little reason to doubt.

Before acquainting the reader with the endeavors of the Fathers in seeking to accomplish the royal instructions regarding the juncture to be made on the banks of the Colorado, it is proper, in the first instance, to speak of the situation and boundaries of Sonora. The smallest of the once

Spanish-American possessions, Sonora lies on the eastern side of the California Gulf. It extends from the mouth of the Hiaqui to the country of the Apaches, in a northeasterly direction. The most northern mission was that of Concepcion de Caborca, about three hundred miles from Hiaqui. This mission, which was founded about 1690, was totally destroyed by the savages in an insurrection in 1751, when two of the venerable missionaries, Fathers Thomas Tillo and Henry Rohen, received the palm of martyrdom. In circumference, Sonora is about three hundred and fifty leagues, or one thousand and more miles. It was inhabited by various tribes, known as the Opates, the Topas, the Tejuaianas, etc., among whom the Jesuit Fathers established as many as four-and-twenty missions. The climate is mild, and the general appearance of the country agreeable — diversified mountain ranges and fertile valleys meeting the eye in every direction. Along the coast runs a succession of barren, sandy hills, inhabited, in those days, by a few wandering tribes, who obtained a precarious existence by fishing; but among whom, in consequence of the impediments offered by nature, a mission could never be established.

Besides being a country remarkably adapted for agricultural purposes, as possessing numerous fertile valleys and extensive pasture ranges, Sonora was also known, even then, to be rich in mineral

productions of considerable value. With this double advantage, however, the province was poor, in consequence of the difficulty and expense of working the mines, and the necessity of importing several commodities from abroad.

In 1687, when Father Kühno entered the territory, there was then only one mission in the country, that in the vicinity of Pimeria Alta. How much this remarkable man effected, in reclaiming those wandering savages will never be known. A mere glimpse of his labors is all that is given us by his brother Religious. With a zeal and a fervor worthy of the greatest Apostle, he traversed the country in every direction, preaching the gospel and reclaiming the natives. Neither the privations necessarily connected with a wandering life among the savage inhabitants, whose only means of subsistence was the chase or the spontaneous offerings of nature, nor the fear of falling among barbarous hordes, who might demand, as the penalty of his daring, the sacrifice of his life, were sufficient to prevent him from acting the part of the Apostle. No wonder, under such circumstances, that success should have attended his labors. Everywhere he succeeded in teaching the people religion, and in prevailing upon them to abandon their barbarous state.

The people being of different tribes, and speaking different languages, he had the patience and zeal to learn those different tongues, into which

he translated the catechetical instructions and prayers. He also formed vocabularies and elementary works for the use of his assistants and successors. So great was the success he met with among all classes, that had he, according to his often repeated request, been aided by others, he would, in all probability, have converted the entire country from the Hiaqui to the Colorado. As it was, he baptized with his own hand, and caused to settle down into regular civilized life, *forty thousand* of the inhabitants!¹ But the great difficulties he had to contend with were not so much those arising from an absence of aid, as from the demoralizing, unjustifiable conduct of the Spanish inhabitants. As colonists, it was in the interests of the Europeans, that the Indians should be kept in a state of subjection, and made to serve in the capacity of slaves on the farms and in the mines. Against this system of violence and oppression the venerable man sternly lifted his voice, and constantly struggled with all his endeavors, not only because of the injustice and demoralizing effects it produced on his people, but because it acted as a powerful barrier against future conversion. If the

(1) Bautizó este grande obrero de la viña del Señor mas de quarenta mil de estos Infieles, y pudiera haverse, alargado à muchas mas millares, si hubiera tenido esperanza de poderlos en adelante assistir señalandos missionero, que ciudasse de doctrinarles. * * * Lo singular es, que no solo formo Pueblos, y bautizo Indios; sino che en gran parte les reduxo à vida politia, y les enseño à fabricar Casas. construir Iglesias, beneficiar tierras, formar estancias, cuidar gavades, hacer provision de frutos, etc." *Apostolicos Afanes de la Compania de Jesus*; p. 331.

vassalage of the farms and the mines was the only immediate reward to be obtained by embracing the Christian religion, why should the savage cease to be free?

By his constant and unwearied exertions, Father Kühno succeeded at length in obtaining a modification of the atrocities perpetrated on his people. The inhumanity of the Mexican council was relaxed to the extent of only demanding the forced services of the natives five years after the date of their conversion! This was afterwards lengthened by Charles II. to a term of twenty years, but unfortunately for the interests of religion and humanity this order was never observed, and the Father had the mortification of seeing his converts, whom he had civilized with infinite pains, constantly dragged from their homes and buried in the bowels of the earth, whither they were consigned by the avarice and heartlessness of the Spanish inhabitants. The odiousness of this system has rarely or never been equaled by a conquering race; certainly never by a Christian community.

Beside the injustice of the proceeding and the obstacle it was likely to offer to the future conversion of the still uncivilized races, it was further attended with the most lamentable and deplorable consequences as regarded the purity and morality of the people. Huddled together in the greatest confusion, without any restraint or surveillance, the masters having only in view their personal

profit, the morals of the neophytes suffered most fearfully, and crimes were committed, both on the farms and in the mines, over which it is better to draw the veil of oblivion.

To contend successfully against such formidable obstacles was more than an apostle could be expected to do, yet under such special and enormous disadvantages Father Kühno continued to advance the state of religion, and succeeded in establishing even in the face of those formidable difficulties several Christian communities. Some idea of this remarkable missionary's labors may be had from the following: In 1698 he set out on a tour of inspection, and after proceeding as far north as the Gila, turned west till he came to the head of the Gulf. Thence continuing his course to the south, on arriving at the Mission Dolores he had traveled on foot from nine to ten hundred miles. This, in a country destitute of every convenience, wild, rugged and mountainous, and inhabited only by uncivilized races, was a most arduous and perilous adventure. But it was only one of many of a similar kind. During the subsequent years of his ministry he made other equally lengthened, arduous and perilous journeys, sometimes for the purpose of preaching the gospel, sometimes for quelling rebellion, sometimes for reconciling enemies, and sometimes with the view of promoting the people's social condition by instructing them in the means necessary for providing for their temporal wants.

Such was the life of that truly great and remarkable minister of God, and, unhappily for the cause of religion, none others were found of like zeal and ability to continue his noble endeavors. After his death, which happened in 1710, the missions were in a great measure abandoned, the churches in many instances fell into ruins, the cultivation of the land was neglected, and the Christians almost entirely abandoned. For five-and-thirty years after his death some of the faithful never saw the face of a priest, and under such circumstances it is not difficult to see how the faith must have suffered. The old converts in a great measure died out, those who survived retained only a feeble idea of what had been taught them a quarter of a century previous, while the children born in the interim differed but little in habits and customs from the gentiles. Of the fourteen missions founded by the Father only three remained at this time. In 1731 an effort was made to re-establish the missions and revive the religion. At the request of the Bishop of Durango, in whose diocese this section of the country was, his Majesty made an assignment for three missionary priests, to be paid from the royal exchequer. Three Jesuit Fathers accordingly entered the territory and founded, in addition to the missions already established, three others, thereby making in all a total of six with their respective sub-stations. This was the actual state of Pimeria in 1742, when, as

I have stated above, instructions were sent from the Court of Madrid for forming a junction at the mouth of the Colorado with the view of reducing the entire population.

In order to carry out his Majesty's wish as speedily and effectually as possible, two expeditions were now undertaken to determine the state of the country, and the places most proper for forming the new settlements. In 1745, Father Ignatius Keller, in obedience to orders received from his ecclesiastical superiors, set out on a tour of inspection in the direction just named. On arriving at the Gila, he found it impossible to advance, his attendants having refused to accompany him further. The following year, instructions to the same effect were sent to Father Sedelmayer; in accordance with which he proceeded to the point last reached by his predecessor, where he was kindly received by the gentiles. From thence he examined the country in every direction, and found several well-watered tracts, remarkably adapted for agricultural purposes. Here, too, were several tribes, on whom Father Kühno had made the most favorable impression. Taking, then, the natural advantages of the country, as well as the favorable disposition of the people into account, it was thought that by means of six or eight missions, the country could be brought to obedience, and his Majesty's wishes accomplished. But, as the project was one of the greatest importance,

it was deemed proper for the Father to proceed in person to Mexico, and lay an account of his observations before the proper authorities, with the view of having the same made known to the King.

The report drawn up and forwarded to Madrid by the Father Provincial of the Society, amongst other things, contained a petition requesting that the Jesuit missionaries in the diocese of Durango be suffered to relinquish their charge in favor of some others, in order to devote themselves to the conversion of the northern gentiles. In this manner, the number of missionaries being increased, the hopes of success would be proportionately augmented. The Father Provincial further submitted that the allowance of three hundred dollars a year was insufficient for the decent support of those missionaries situated at such distances from Mexico, and that a garrison of one hundred and fifty soldiers should be formed on the Gila for the protection of the Fathers. Although there was nothing directly mentioned in the letter respecting California, it was understood that, if the project succeeded, the Fathers would continue their labors through the northern part of the peninsula till they reached the missions contemplated. While an answer was being awaited from Europe, a statistical account of the Californian missions was drawn up and forwarded to Mexico. From that list, and another formed at a subsequent period, the following was then the general state of religion in the country:

I. The mission of Our Lady of Loretto, situated on the coast in 25 degrees thirty minutes; founded by Father Salva Tierra, October, 1697. This was the capital of the country. Missionary in charge at that date, Father Gaspar de Truxillo. The number of Christians, including soldiers, sailors, etc., was more than four hundred.

II. The mission of St. Francis Xavier; founded by Father F. Piccolo, 1699. Villages—St. Xavier, in 25 degrees 30 minutes; St. Rose, seven leagues W.; St. Michael, eight leagues N.; Augustine, eight leagues S.E.; Dolores, two leagues E.; St. Paul, eight leagues N.W. Missionary, Father Michael Barco. Population, 480.

III. Our Lady of Dolores; founded by Father Tierra, 1699. Villages—Our Lady of Dolores, 24 degrees 30 minutes; Conception; Incarnation; Trinity; Redemption; Resurrection. Missionary, Father C. Guillen. Population, 450.

IV. St. Louis of Gonzaga; founded by Father John Ugarte. Villages—St. Louis of Gonzaga, 25 degrees; St. John of Nepomucene; St. Mary Magdalen. Missionary, Father L. Hotel. Population, 310.

V. St. Joseph of Comandu; founded by Father Mayorga, 1708; without a missionary at that date, on account of the death of Father Wagner, 1744. Villages—1. St. Joseph, 26 degrees; 2. One league W.; 3. Seven leagues N.; 4. Ten leagues E. Population, 360.

VI. St. Rose of Mulege; founded by Father Basualda, 1705. Villages—St. Rose, 26 degrees, 50 minutes; Holy Trinity, six leagues S. S. E.; St. Mark, eight leagues N. Missionary, Father Peter Mary Nascimben. Population, 300.

VII. Immaculate Conception; founded by Father Nicolas Tamaral, in 1718. Villages—six. Missionary, Father Druet. Population, 330..

VIII. Our Lady of Guadalupe; founded by Father John Ugarte and Father Everard Helen, 1721. Villages—Our Lady of Guadalupe, in 27 degrees; Conception, six leagues S.; St. Michael, six leagues S. E.; Sts. Peter and Paul, eight leagues E.; St. Mary, five leagues N. Missionary, Father Casteige. Population, 530.

IX. St. Ignatius; founded by Father Luyando, 1728. Villages—St. Ignatius, in 28 degrees; St. Borgia, eight leagues distant; St. Joaquin, three leagues distant; St. Sabas, three leagues distant; St. Athanasius, five leagues distant; St. Monica, seven leagues distant; St. Martha, seven leagues distant; St. Lucay, ten leagues distant; St. Nymfa, five leagues distant. Missionary, Father Sebastian de Sestiago. Population, 650.

X. Our Lady of Dolores of the North. This mission was connected with that of St. Ignatius, and attended by Fathers Sestiago and Consag. It was situated in the 29th degree of latitude, and comprised a district of some thirty leagues. Population, 548.

XI. St. Mary Magdalen; established by Father Consag. Population not given.

XII. St. James. Villages—Three; missionary, Father Tempis. Population, 350.

XIII. All Saints; founded about 1737. Population, 90.

XIV. St. Francis Borgia. Population, 1500.

XV. St. Gertrude. Population, 1000.

XVI. St. Mary. Population, 330.

Total number of Christians in all the missions, 7,628.

While negotiations were being carried on with the Court of Madrid, for the conversion of the northern tribes on the opposite side of the gulf, the southern missions were visited by Heaven with a terrible chastisement, in punishment, it would seem, for the crimes of the people during the time of revolt. New and irremediable distempers broke out in the community, to which thousands fell victims. So great were the numbers that died from those various diseases, from the year 1742 to 1748, that hardly a sixth of the whole population survived. The labors of the missionaries during those calamitous years, were proportionately great. The general spread of the disease, and its continuance in the country, constantly demanded their presence in almost every quarter. Their anxiety was not even confined to the due discharge of their spiritual functions, for, at such a time, the corporeal as well as the spiritual wants of the sufferers

called for relief. In such a continuous struggle with death and disease, it is not to be regarded as strange, that their overtaxed energies should have succumbed to the difficulties by which they were surrounded. Hence the ravages death began to make in their numbers. Two years after the appearance of the disease, Father Bravo fell a victim to his charitable endeavors. He was one of the oldest and most efficient of the body. On coming to the country, he was only a lay-brother; but, on account of his remarkable merits, and the great want of missionary hands, he was subsequently raised to the priesthood. He arrived in California in 1705, in company with Father Salva Tierra, and had, consequently labored for the missions at the time of his death nineteen years; during eight of which he governed the mission of La Paz.

Father Bravo's death was followed by that of Father Anthony Tempis, who, as we have seen, was charged with the restoration of the mission of Santiago, destroyed by the Pericues. At the time of his demise the mission was in a better and more prosperous condition than before its destruction. His persevering, apostolic exertions succeeded remarkably in conciliating the people and winning them back to a virtuous life. Impressed with the great importance and necessity of early instruction, he took every means of teaching the young, and of instilling into their minds sentiments of piety and virtue. He had them constantly with

him, corrected their faults, strengthened their weaknesses, supported their failings, and in every manner as the most tender of parents endeavored, both by word and example, to impress upon their minds lessons of holiness and sanctity. His affection for the young was no greater than his care of the infirm. In the epidemic, of which I have spoken, and to which so many fell victims, his charity was more than remarkable. When unable to walk, whenever duty demanded his presence, he would have himself carried through the mountains to the sufferers, his continual expression being that of the Society: "All for the greater glory of God." In fine, after a most holy and apostolic career, he died in the odor of sanctity at the mission of Santiago in 1746—a victim to his zeal and unwearied exertions in behalf of the poor.

The following year the missions suffered an equally irreparable loss in the departure for Mexico, at the command of authority, of Father Sebastian Sestiago. One by one the great lights were passing away—either sinking into the grave or necessitated to abandon the field of their labors by reason of infirmity. Father Sestiago, who was of Mexican extraction, was born at Tepustucula in 1684. He entered the Society when young, and gained the general esteem of his companions, as well by his virtue as by his ability. While professor of belles-lettres he was appointed to the Californian mission, whither he immediately re-

paired. During the twenty-nine years he lived in the country he propagated religion across the whole of the peninsula. Frequently he would sally forth into the mountains in quest of the savages, having only for his support a little corn in a sack. There, deprived of the ordinary comforts of life, he would remain preaching and catechizing till his presence was demanded elsewhere. What he suffered on those occasions, having to accommodate himself to the barbarous life of the people—exposed to the inclemency of the season—can be hardly conceived. It was thus he learned to dispense with the use of a bed (a luxury he never allowed himself toward the end of his days), for having to lead the same life as the people, he was obliged to sleep on the ground. He always slept in his clothes, and rose ordinarily *two hours before day*, in order to occupy himself in prayer and preparation for the holy sacrifice of the Mass. At times while making excursions through the woods in company with his neophytes, he would cry out in a transport of zeal: “Come—oh! come all to the faith of Jesus Christ; oh! who will make them all Christians and conduct them to Heaven!” So little was his heart attached to temporal things, that on an occasion when his people presented him with some pearls they had picked up on the shore after a storm, he ordered them to go and throw them back into the sea! At last, worn out by in-

firmities and tormented by scruples to which he became an involuntary prey, he was temporarily ordered to Mexico, where he departed this life in most eminent sanctity, on the 22d of June, 1756.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DEATH OF FATHER GUILLEN. — DEATH OF DON RODRIGUEZ LORENZO. — PROGRESS OF THE MISSIONS. — CONVERSIONS BY FATHER RETZ. — HIS DEATH. — ATTEMPT OF THE GENTILES TO DESTROY THE SOUTHERN MISSIONS. — DEATH OF FATHER NEUMAYER. — SILVER MINES OPENED IN THE COUNTRY. — EVIL COUNSEL OF THE SPANIARDS. — DISCONTENT OF THE CONVERTS. — DECREASE IN THE FEMALE POPULATION. — DANGERS THREATENING THE SOCIETY IN EUROPE. — UNJUST PROCEEDINGS TAKEN AGAINST IT IN PORTUGAL AND FRANCE.

THE year following the departure of Father Sestiago, the mission was deprived by death of the presence of Father Guillen, who had acted for some time as Provincial of the Society in California. This missionary's career extended over a period of four-and-twenty years; during which, his life was admittedly a model of every virtue. It was to him that the Mission of Dolores, in the country of the Guacuros, owed its existence; and his success may be learned from the fact that by his individual exertions he converted the greater part of that barbarous people. A single example will suffice to illustrate his zeal for the salvation of the gentiles.

Shortly prior to his death there happened to arrive at the mission, from a distant part of the country a gentile woman considerably advanced in years. As no one in the vicinity understood a word of her language, it was found impossible to

properly instruct her in the principles of religion. That, however, an opportunity might be afforded her of embracing the truth, Father Guillen, with the weight of years already pressing heavily upon him (being then seventy or more), undertook to learn her language. He did not, indeed, succeed in his purpose, for he was overtaken by death while engaged in his charitable work; but, if he did not gain the soul of the poor creature to Christ, he has left upon record one of the noblest and most praiseworthy deeds to be met with in the history of missionary life.

During those calamitous years, while death was so rife among the missionary body, it was not to be expected that the Government officers would escape without loss. The same year that witnessed the death of Father Tempis, saw also the last moments of Don Rodriguez Lorenzo, who for several years had held the post of Captain and Governor of the country. This was by no means an unimportant event in the history of the missions; for, by his ability, prudence and zeal, this venerable Catholic had contributed much to the interests of religion. Indeed, it was to him that the Fathers were indebted for a large share of the success they attained in the country. Wherever a new mission was to be established, he invariably attended in person, accompanied by his men; and this not merely with the view of defending the Religious against the attacks of the savages, but

to aid in making the roads and erecting the buildings. Though Captain and Governor, he was first in every laborious employment; in order that by his example, the soldiers and Indians might be encouraged to labor. His morals were as pure as his example was attractive. Daily he assisted at the holy sacrifice of the Mass, and the other exercises of the missions. Duty never found him for a moment absent from his post. In fine, after a life remarkable for several virtues, he died on the first of November, 1746, at the ripe old age of four score years. He was succeeded by his son, Bernard, who inherited all his remarkable qualities, both civil and religious.

The very severe and, indeed, in some instances, apparently irreparable losses to the missions of the above-mentioned persons, was not suffered by Divine Providence to interfere with the progress of religion in the country. On the retirement of Father Sestiago from the Mission of St. Ignatius, in 1747, Father Consag took charge of that place, and labored with such profit, that in the space of four years, he had converted, in the vicinity of the mission, five hundred and forty-eight of the gentiles—a work of no ordinary moment, when we consider the constant call upon his labors by the converted during those calamitous times. A sufficient number of converts being thus formed, it was desirable they should be gathered together, and a mission established for their special advan-

tage. With this object in view, Father Consag set out from St. Ignatius, in 1751, in order to determine a locality proper for the new mission. He was accompanied by the Governor, an escort, and some neophytes. After traveling a considerable distance without meeting with the object of their search, they at last chanced upon a path which, when followed, brought them to a point where their attention was arrested on seeing a number of arrows pierced through a branch. This they understood as an intimation on the part of the savages that any one daring to pass by that way would be similarly treated. But, as the escort was strong, they continued their journey till they came up with the Indians, who, instead of being hostile, received them as friends. The people were, however, very much alarmed on beholding the horses, never having seen such in their lives. The object of the expedition was now fully attained. Here was a place with all the requirements proper for a new settlement—a fertile valley, abundant water, and friendly Indians. Before returning, the Father administered baptism to the little ones dangerously ill, and, as some of them died shortly after, he had the consolation of knowing that even so far his journey was not without profit.

On returning to St. Ignatius, Father Consag immediately set about dispatching a number of workmen for the erection of the necessary buildings. These being completed, the mission was

entrusted to the Rev. Father Retz, an Austrian, who took possession of it in the Summer of 1752. According to an old established custom, by which all the missionaries were expected to contribute something to every newly-established settlement, each of the Fathers bestowed on his brother Religious the little his limited means would permit. These offerings were chiefly of corn and cattle. In this manner the first wants of the people were supplied and the interests of religion subserved. The mission commenced under the most favorable auspices; for it numbered from the outset about six hundred converts, collected from different parts. To these others were speedily added, for as soon as the newly-made Christians informed their brethren of the character of the religion, the necessity of baptism and the kindness of the Father, the people began to flock to the place, and what was at first only a mere curiosity, ended at length in conversion to the faith. Thus in a few years Father Retz found himself at the head of a congregation of fourteen hundred Christians. Every convert, on being received into the Church, received from the Father a little crucifix, which he was expected to wear on his neck that he might be constantly reminded of his faith, and the invaluable blessings of the work of redemption.

Shortly after the establishment of this mission a camp was formed at a short distance on account of the great abundance of water. Here the Father

took care to produce the necessary supplies for his people—the plantation of a vineyard and fruit-trees being amongst his earliest cares. Before long he had an abundant supply of maize, wheat and garden productions for his flock. His method of making and preserving the wine deserves a passing notice. The construction of barrels being under the circumstances entirely impossible, he resorted to the ingenious method of hollowing great masses of rock, in which he fermented and preserved the precious liquor. The rapid increase of the faithful suggested the importance of forming another little settlement, but before carrying out this benevolent purpose death summoned him to his heavenly reward. He died in the month of September, 1759, at the age of fifty-six years, seven-and-twenty of which he spent for the benefit of the people. By birth, as we have said, he was Austrian, and arrived in California in 1732. It is difficult, says his biographer, to estimate the extraordinary efforts he made for the establishment of the faith. Though laboring under a constitutional weakness, he was constantly on the alert seeking new places for the establishment of additional missions; preaching the gospel to the gentiles, or instructing his own. When, on his journeys, necessity compelled him to halt in order to refresh his companions, he invariably, unmindful of his own toil and weariness of body, betook himself to prayer, and sought refreshment in com-

munion with his God. Indeed, it is impossible, on reading the lives of such men, not to be struck with the remarkable likeness they bear to the most eminent saints of the Church. Dead to the world, to society, to themselves and everything human, they seem to have been animated with only one ardent desire, that of propagating the kingdom of God amongst men. To this end they labored, they toiled, prayed, preached and conformed to the miserable life of the people. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered that a country, hallowed by the foot-prints of such men, should have turned from paganism and barbarism to Christianity and civilization.

The death of Father Consag prevented for the time the establishment of the newly-projected mission, for the Religious destined for that purpose had to continue where he was. Meantime, everything was done to facilitate its future establishment. A road of communication was formed between it and the last mentioned mission; a church, barracks and a presbytery constructed, the people further enlightened, and nothing save the appointment of the missionary himself left unaccomplished. Nor was the presence of the Father delayed very long; for Father Wenceslaus Link, a native of Bohemia, having arrived in the country at this time, was sent to take charge of the place. He found on arrival three hundred Indians, converts of the late Father Retz; to these others were

speedily added by himself, the numbers continuing to increase till after a time it was found necessary to enlarge the little church.

While congratulating himself on the success of his labors, the enemy of mankind was plotting the destruction of his work. The more evil-disposed of the gentiles living at a distance, seeing that numbers were constantly repairing to the Father and enrolling themselves among the believers, took umbrage at this encroachment on their faith; and in order the more effectually to prevent its continuance, determined, by a general massacre, to destroy every vestige of Christianity in that part of the peninsula. News of the intended revolt happening by some means to reach the ears of the Christians, it was determined to give the savages such a lesson that they would not readily entertain so bloody a purpose; and it was even deemed proper not to await the approach of the enemy, but to go forth and encounter him on his own ground. The forces of the two missions which were to be the object of the attack were accordingly marshaled, and on marching into the enemy's territory, fortunately surprised and captured him without striking a blow. The prisoners were conducted to the mission, where they were incarcerated for some days, and then set at liberty. The leaders, however, received a fuller measure of justice, for before being granted their liberty they received a certain number of lashes. Thus the

incipient rebellion was quelled, and a result never contemplated by the people attained; for, affected at what they had seen at the mission, these very barbarians, as in the case of those who attacked the Christians under the care of Father Laymundo, requested to be enrolled among the believers, a favor which was granted them after the sincerity of their request has been sufficiently proved.

Two years after the foundation of the last mentioned mission, dedicated to the great St. Francis Borgia, another of the old pioneer missionaries, Father Charles Neumayer, departed this life at All Saints. Father Neumayer's career in California extended over a period of twenty years, during which, like his brethren, he was remarkable for great zeal and holiness of life. His character seems to have been to accommodate himself to every circumstance, the better to gain the affections of all, and thereby promote more securely the interest of his heavenly Master. In the fields, he labored in company with the cultivators of the soil. On sea, he took his net and assisted the fishermen. At home, he was an architect, a carpenter, a blacksmith, or whatever else the circumstances demanded. The wonderful providence of God, which overruleth and disposeth all things according to appointment, never failed to provide for the pressing wants of the missions. Whenever death removed any of the Fathers, others were found ready to step into their place. Two months before

the death of the above-mentioned Father, two other Religious, Fathers Franco and Ames arrived in the country.

We now approach a perilous period in the history of the Californian missions, when the conduct of the Spanish inhabitants began to prove the most serious embarrassment to the Fathers. Hitherto the missionaries had to contend, as we have seen, against the coldness, neglect and indifference of government, the inhospitable nature of the country, and the evil dispositions of the people. Now an additional, and in some measure more formidable, obstacle was thrown in their way, by the evil example and pernicious advice of the Spanish inhabitants. While the missions were successfully progressing through the country, Don Manuel de Ocio, an enterprising Spaniard, entered upon a mining speculation in the southern part of the peninsula, in the country of the Pericues. For the accomplishment of his object, miners were imported from New Spain; but, unhappily, their lives were not a model for Christians to follow. Demoralization, debauchery, and neglect of religion followed as natural consequences. Their advice was even more pernicious than their morals. Hostile to the system established by the Fathers, they everywhere disturbed the peace and tranquillity of the Christian congregations, by telling them that the Mexican Indians were entirely independent of the Religious; that they paid tribute

to none but the monarch; possessed their own lands free from control, and were in all things independent to act as they pleased, provided only they attended the services of the church. The consequence of these unseasonable suggestions was that the newly-converted Indians, so unfit to provide for their own natural wants, unless directed by authority, immediately demanded that the lands be handed over to their charge, that they might be at liberty to dispose of them as they pleased. They further required that the vessels belonging to the mission be put at their disposal, that they might be able to go whithersoever they chose. To some their demands may appear only reasonable, but when it is remembered that this people, only recently reclaimed from a savage, indolent life, abhorred every manner of labor, and never took thought for the future, the matter assumes a different aspect in our eyes. To hand over the lands to them at such a time, while their habits were only yet partially formed, would be to consign them to certain neglect, and to fail in making the necessary provision for the future.

As regarded the restriction laid on their liberty, they were in a better position under the rule of the Fathers than in their savage condition; for, while gentile, they were prohibited entering each other's dominions on account of the hereditary feuds that existed between them, whereas, on becoming Christians, they could pass from one sec-

tion of the country to the other at the will of the missionaries. Had the Fathers readily complied with their desires the loss would not, indeed, have been theirs, but the people's.

Another cause of considerable discontent was the remarkable decrease in the female community. To what this is to be attributed it might be difficult to say, yet it is none the less certain, that while polygamy existed, the female population was considerably greater than the male,¹ whereas, on the introduction of Christianity, nine tenths of the people in some of the missions were males. As it is not stated by any author whether the number of births was unequal, perhaps the key to the solution of the difficulty may be found in the numerous disorders which at that period prevailed in the country, and to which the female community may have the more readily succumbed as being the weaker.

The ill-disposed, turbulent Christians, seeing that the Fathers were unwilling to accede to their petition, assembled in council, and petitioned the Mexican government to banish the Religious from the country, and put in their stead government officials, to whom they would pay tribute for his Majesty. The pretensions set forth in the petition were the extreme of extravagance. Men who were unable to provide for themselves could not be reasonably expected to pay tribute to a gov-

(1) See *Clavigero's Life*.

ernment. In order to carry their complaint before the proper authorities, twenty of the conspirators seized upon the vessel of the mission and set sail for Mexican waters. On reaching the opposite coast they altered their purpose at the entreaty of the missionary Father at that port, and returned to California. Their minds, however, being unsettled, another attempt was made by them a little later on, but with equal success, after which they abandoned their foolish pretensions, and reconciled themselves to the existing state of affairs.

At this time the Provincial of the Fathers' Society at Mexico—Father Francis Cevallos—offered the Viceroy to renounce all the Californian missions, and those of New Spain, in order that the missionaries might be employed to greater advantage among the gentiles of the north. As the matter was one of the greatest importance the Governor was unwilling to act of himself, but consulted his council, by which it was determined that the matter should be referred to the Bishops and their opinion demanded. An answer in the negative having been received the offer was declined. The singleness of purpose manifested in this cannot be too highly extolled. These venerable men, after toiling for near three quarters of a century, were now ready, after having brought the people to a tolerable degree of civilization, to resign their advantages in favor of less self-sacrific-

ing ministers of religion, and to go forth to do battle anew against paganism, idolatry and barbarism in the hitherto unexplored regions of the north. This generous offer was followed by another equally worthy of record. In 1767, the year before the expulsion of the Fathers, a wealthy Mexican Lady, Donna Josepha de Arguellas, donated to the mission property to the amount of six hundred thousand dollars. The due application of this would doubtless have advanced the state of religion considerably, but the Fathers, unwilling to give the enemies of the Society any grounds for reproach, generously came to the conclusion of renouncing the whole in favor of Government.

The time was now near at hand when their labors were to draw to a close in the Californian missions, after a remarkably successful career of seventy years. For a considerable time a triple alliance had been formed in Europe against the Society of which they were members. Jansenism, Protestantism and Infidelity, had joined in their efforts to accomplish their ruin. On the accession to the Portuguese throne of Joseph I., Don Sebastian Carvallo, Count of Oeyras, and afterwards Marquis of Pombal, was raised to the position of first minister of the crown by the influence of Father Joseph Moreira, who unhappily mistook the character of the man. From that moment the destruction of the Society within the limits of the

Portuguese kingdom was a matter of certainty. Its accomplishment was only a matter of time and detail. Pombal's design from the outset was even larger than the ruin of the Jesuit body. He contemplated the entire destruction of Catholicity in the country. This he hoped to effect by placing a member of the Protestant religion on the throne—a scheme, for the realization of which, he looked for success by forming a marriage alliance between the Princess of Berry and the representative of the dukedom of Cumberland. In this he had naturally to expect much opposition at the hands of the Jesuit Fathers, then highly in favor with royalty. Hence the necessity in the first instance of removing the Religious from the precincts of the court. This done, the unscrupulous minister would be able to manage, according to pleasure, the naturally weak-minded, indolent monarch by flattering his inclination and passions. But as the matter was one of greatest importance it was necessary to proceed with much caution. Suspicions were first to be created in his Majesty's breast regarding the loyalty of the Fathers, a matter which was to be effected by imputing sinister designs to their conduct. Then all the charges and crimes, no matter how atrocious and unscrupulous, which the libertinism, infidelity and heresy of the period had made against the Society, were to be brought under his notice, all of which was to be guarded by the king with the most scrupulous secrecy.

The plan succeeded remarkably, according to the desire of the author. Don Pedro, the king's brother, who was then popular with all classes of the community, was seeking to ingratiate himself into the affections of the people, with the view of supplanting his brother. In this he was aided by the members of the Society, whose influence with all classes was no secret to any. A little more and the monarch would be deprived of his throne. Such were the unblushing and audacious assertions of the unscrupulous minister; and, unfortunately for justice and humanity, they found favor with the king. To back up and confirm the calumnious charges, all the accusations that free-thinkers, libertines and heretics had ever put into writing against the Society were laid before Joseph, and scattered broadcast among the people. The result is fearful to contemplate. Iniquity triumphed for the time. The king's mind was embittered to a degree; good men were amazed; society was taken by surprise; the scheme was a success. Pombal saw his advantage, and that the moment had arrived for striking the first blow.

On the pretence of having cast improper reflections on the conduct of the minister, two of the Religious, Fathers Ballister and Fonseca were arrested and banished the country. This was to prepare the way for a fuller measure of injustice, which was to be the banishment of the entire body. The terrible earthquake, however, which visited

the country at that moment, shaking the capital to its foundation, stayed for a while the atrocities of the Government. But it was only for a little, for as soon as the effects of the disaster began to pass from men's minds, the former iniquitous proceedings were resumed. New charges were laid to the count of the Fathers, but of an entirely different character. Before it was ambition, now it is avarice. Some difficulty having been experienced in the management of the Paraguayan dependencies, the Fathers were charged with being the authors of the dissension, with the view of obtaining possession of the gold mines. One of the Society, too, it was audaciously asserted, was made Emperor of the country under the title of Nicolas I.! A currency was issued bearing the effigy of the Jesuit monarch! The clumsiness of this calumny was too much for the country. Wise men smiled—wicked men laughed; while the virtuous and upright treated it with the scorn and contempt that it merited; yet, with all its absurdity, there were those who, because it originated at Court, made it the fashion of the hour and the test of good breeding to give it, at least, an external assent.

Meantime, the Jesuit Fathers continued at Court as confessors to the king and his family; but Pom-bal, seeing that his artifices were likely to be unavailing as long as the monarch could be approached by the Religious, had all the members of the So-

ciety attendant on Court banished from the palace, on the plea of conspiring against the State. At the same time, he removed from their offices all the secular officers opposed to his plans; handed over the universities to Protestants, Jansenists and infidel teachers, and isolated the king from all but those of his party.

While these iniquitous proceedings were being enacted at Lisbon, the philosophers and free-thinkers of France were working for a like end at the Court of Louis XV. Among other things, the destruction of the Parliament, in 1753, was charged to the Jesuits, though, in reality, they had nothing to do with it. They were also accused of influencing the queen and the dauphin, of ruling the Archbishop of Paris and the Bishop of Mirepoix; but the chief accusation brought by their enemies, was that they had procured an assassin to take the life of the monarch. The only proof that could be advanced in support of this terrible charge was that the man Damisus, who attempted the king's life, had been formerly in the service of the Fathers. But as the same man had been also in the service of several members of Parliament, the conclusion would have been equally logical had they too been accused of the crime. It was not necessary, however, that such a deduction should be drawn; the Fathers had to be criminated and nobody else.

Pombal, finding that his calumnies against the

Society were not as satisfactory in their results as he desired, essayed to make use of the powers of the Church. With this view, on the ground that some of the members were applying themselves in the Brazils to commercial pursuits, contrary to the canons of the Church, he applied to Benedict XIV. for a reformation of the Society. The object of this new mode of proceeding was to obtain grounds for criminating the body; for, by a commission of inquiry to be carried on under the eyes of the minister, the complicity of the members was certain to be established, and thus a pretext would be had for banishing all from the country. The sovereign Pontiff, being then in delicate health, allowed himself to be persuaded, at the earnest solicitations of the enemies of the Society, to grant the solicited brief. It was addressed to the Cardinal Saldanha, who was named visitor of the Houses in Portugal, and charged with its execution. Fearing, shortly after, lest the inquiry might be used for a sinister motive, and turned to the injury of the Society, the enfeebled Pontiff addressed another brief to the same Cardinal, modifying the powers granted in the first. In the second the Inquisitor was commanded not to proceed farther than a private inquiry, to form no definite conclusion, but to make a conscientious report to the Pontiff himself, to whom the right of a final decision was reserved. These positive instructions, in a great measure, annulled the preceding, and

would, if attended to, have entirely defeated the scheme. Pombal, therefore, to obviate the embarrassment, determined upon regarding the second instructions, or brief, as the *hallucinations of a dying man!* There was, however, another difficulty now in the way. Benedict XIV. died on the 3d of May, 1758, and the brief, authorizing an examination into the religious houses of the Jesuits, was not yet forwarded to the Brazils—a circumstance which rendered its execution invalid in that quarter. For, by the canons of the Church, all briefs not executed prior to the death of the Pope are by the fact of no force in those parts where they had not been previously executed. But as the Brazils were exactly that part of the kingdom where a pretext was expected to be found for incriminating the Fathers, the minister disregarded the Cardinal's scruples, if ever he had any, and had a decree of the Council drawn up, ordering the publication and execution of the document as well in Brazil as in Portugal. It is true that even there no species of commerce, properly so called, was carried on by the Religious. There was, indeed, an *exchange*, for the necessary commodities required by the missionaries; but for this, permission had been obtained from the king and the sovereign Pontiff. The pretext, however, was sufficient, and, accordingly, a mandatory letter was issued by the Cardinal, declaring that the missionaries were violating the laws of the Church, and

engaging in commercial pursuits. Later on, on the 7th of June of the same year (1758), they were interdicted by the Patriarch of Lisbon, in the whole of his diocese. Everything now seemed to declare against the Society; the tide of success, however, once more turned in their favor. One month after their interdict, Cardinal Bezzonico was raised to the Popedom, under the title of Clement XIII. The new Pope was strongly in favor of the Society, and determined at all hazards, to defend it against the wiles of its enemies; which, when Pombal came to perceive, he sought other and more effectual means for effecting his purpose.

On the third of September, Joseph I., while returning from an entertainment, given by one of the principal noblemen of the kingdom—the marquis of Tavora—was fired at and slightly wounded, it is said, in the shoulder. The plot, which originated with Pombal, was made to serve a double purpose. The marquis, having refused his daughter in marriage to the minister, the latter was determined to be revenged on him; and this was the manner he sought to accomplish his purpose. Ten days later, the marquis and his entire family, with the exception of the daughter, were brought to the scaffold; and this because that virtuous nobleman refused to enter into a married alliance with the iniquitous Pombal. The next purpose the attack upon the king's life was made to subserve, was the ruin of the Jesuits. As they

were friendly with the Tavoras, they were declared to be accomplices in the act. Their banishment was, consequently, a matter of certainty, and expected at any moment; but, in order to create still greater odium against them, and thus, apparently, exculpate himself in the step he was going to take, the minister had the unheard of audacity to publish over *the signature of several of the Fathers a most satirical and libellous charge against the king.*

This outrageous and unparalleled proceeding so alarmed the Episcopacy, that they appealed to the sovereign Pontiff to interpose his authority and save the Society and religion from such terrible outrages. The time, however, was too late. Pombal had gone too far to retrace his steps; and then, under the plea of reforming the Society and providing for its interests, he caused fifteen hundred Jesuits to be arrested and cast into dungeons, confiscating, at the same time, all the property of which they were owners!

CHAPTER XIX.

POMBAL ATTEMPTS TO USE THE POPE FOR HIS OWN PURPOSES. — HE FORGES A BRIEF IN THE NAME OF HIS HOLINESS. — BANISHES THE FATHERS FROM THE COUNTRY. — DRIVES THEM FROM ALL THE DEPENDENCIES. — SENDS MOST OF THEM TO ITALY. — FATHER MALAGRIDA BURNED AT THE STAKE. — CONSPIRACY OF THE FREE-THINKERS FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SOCIETY. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT. — EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH CLERGY IN BEHALF OF THE RELIGIOUS. — DEPRIVED OF ALL THEIR POSSESSIONS BY THE HIGH COURT OF PARIS. — OPINIONS OF PROTESTANTS ON THIS. — THE KING REFUSES TO SIGN AN EDICT FOR THEIR BANISHMENT. — CLEMENT XIII. IN THEIR FAVOR. — ANTIPATHY TO THE SOCIETY IN SPAIN. — FALSE CHARGES AGAINST IT. — THEIR EXPULSION FROM THE SPANISH DOMINIONS. — DEPARTURE FROM CALIFORNIA.

ALTHOUGH the suppression of the Society of St. Ignatius of Loyola, in the kingdom of Portugal, forms no part of Californian history, yet, as it bears indirectly on our subject, having led to the subsequent banishment of the Fathers from these parts by the King of Spain, it has been deemed proper to place the more prominent features thereof before the mind of the reader.

After the accomplishment of the atrocious proceedings narrated in the closing paragraph of the preceding chapter, the unscrupulous minister of Joseph I., as if to exhaust his effrontery, wrote to the sovereign Pontiff, acquainting him with the measures he had taken, and requesting an approval of his acts. Audacity could hardly go further. It was attempting to make the Vicar of

Christ an accomplice in a most ignoble and iniquitous proceeding. Yet even this was not the entire of his daring.

Finding that the solicited brief of approval was not likely to be granted, Pombal wrote to his ambassador at Rome, ordering him to draw up, in the name of the Pontiff, a document such as he desired, and to have it immediately forwarded to Lisbon. The minister was equal to the occasion, and in compliance with his master's desires, framed the solicited brief, in which he made Clement approve of all his master's proceedings, pointing out at the same time the disposition that was to be made of the confiscated property. This shameful proceeding succeeded for the moment and strengthened for the time the hands of the minister. Meanwhile the true document having arrived, the treachery was discovered, and the author of the forgery covered with infamy. But what cared so profligate and reckless a man for the anger and indignation of the people? He had only one object in view, and that he was determined on effecting at every hazard and under every circumstance. To make the Pope a partner in his crime he had relied in the first instance upon cunning and fraud, but finding these unavailing he resorted to threats and to violence, declaring he would estrange the entire country from the Catholic religion unless the sovereign Pontiff approved of his acts. Defeated even in this he finally resolved upon clearing his

prisons, and shipping all the incarcerated Religious to Rome, hoping thereby at least to torment and embarrass his Holiness. Accordingly on the first September, 1759, in accordance with the orders of Pombal, the first batch of the Fathers, consisting of one hundred and thirty-three members, was shipped for Civita Vecchia. They were crowded on board a miserable merchantman, entirely unequal to the accommodation of so many, and almost utterly destitute of the most necessary provisions. Their only earthly possessions were their breviaries and their crucifixes.

It may here occur to the reader to inquire if the cruelty and injustice of the minister were shared in by the people at large. By no means. The people were strongly attached to the Fathers. A single word and Pombal would have been hurled into the Tagus, but that word the Fathers never would utter. Nay, they did everything in their power to appease the anger of the people, using their entire influence to induce them to submit to authority.

The same proceedings which were adopted in Portugal against the Religious were also enacted in the dependencies against the same body, with equal, if not greater severity. In the east and the west, wherever Portuguese missions were established, the Fathers were seized, hurried on board miserable vessels and forwarded to Lisbon. On arriving in the Tagus, those who were natives,

were immediately ordered to Italy, while the foreigners were cast into prisons. This was an artful and politic move of the minister, lest the friends of the former, incited by their sufferings, might rise in their favor.

The reception they met with in Italy was most consoling to their feelings, and calculated to assuage the bitterness of their sufferings. The secular and regular clergy, with the nobility and people, vied with each other in showing them every mark of respect, and in providing for their necessary wants. At Civita Vecchia the Dominicans had a monument erected in commemoration of their trials, while the sovereign Pontiff received them with a tenderness and affection worthy of a Father for his suffering children. In this the implacable minister of Portugal could not help being able to see the true light in which his execrable conduct was regarded by others. But even that was insufficient to arrest him in his headlong career. Hitherto he had only been guilty of cruelty, barbarity and injustice to the Fathers, but now he was going to add a more horrible crime to his list of enormities. Amongst the Religious who were then imprisoned at the capital was a venerable missionary—Father Gabriel de Malagrida, an Italian, who had spent a great part of his life in the Brazils. He had grown gray in service of religion, and was sixty-nine years of age at the time of his arrest. On the plea of having written some ob-

jectionable works upon prophecy and vision, the venerable man was arraigned before the Inquisitorial Assembly, and though the writings in which he was said to have erred were never produced, the minister's word being taken instead, Father Malagrida was convicted of blasphemy and heresy, and condemned to be burnt alive—a fate which he courageously met on the 21st of September, 1761 !

Even the greatest enemy of religion was shocked at this act. “ Thus,” says Voltaire, “ was the extreme of absurdity added to the extreme of horror.” To thoroughly understand the nature of the hostility directed against the Society of the Jesuits at this time, it is necessary to remember the character of the age. No other period of modern times presents such a lamentable example in the history of Catholic Europe.

Nations which had hitherto remained firm in their profession of Catholic truth, were now seriously disturbed by the false philosophical systems of the time. The character assumed by the new opponents of religion was different from that of the immediately preceding century. Disbelieving every form of Christian faith, the new instructors of the human mind looked upon all religion as a mere human invention, and, by a process of reasoning peculiar to themselves, essayed to establish the doctrine of reason instead of the religion of Christ. In France, which was the focus of the

movement, the party was represented by Voltaire, Rousseau, Volney, Bayle and others. The well-known motto of the chief was the terrible expression: "Ecraser l'infame."—"To crush the infamous one," by which he understood the religion of the Redeemer. To this end, we are assured he vowed his whole life and his entire talents; yet the hour at last came when that impious man despairingly solicited the aid of that religion which he had so horribly outraged.

The constant and leading assertion of the sceptical Bayle was, that society could never be prosperous or properly organized till deprived of every religious idea. Of Damilaville, Voltaire himself said, in the bitterest irony, that though he did not deny the existence of God, yet he *hated* the Almighty. Rousseau, Volney and Dupuis employed themselves in discrediting the miracles of the gospel, and the existence of scriptural personages Diderot taught atheism; and Holbach, Condillac and Helvetius, materialism. The works in which this band of iniquitous men embodied their thoughts, and sought to perpetuate their erroneous philosophy, was the memorable Encyclopedia—a work which an eminent Catholic writer has termed "a real tower of Babel, reared by the genius of hell against God and His Christ." In that horrible serial, Nature was made to take the place of the Almighty, religion was declared to be an invention of man, human nature lowered to the

standard of the brute, and the existence of the future regarded as a myth.

The accomplices of these irreligious minds were the parliaments and the ministers of the Catholic powers. Pombal, in Portugal, d'Aranda, in Spain, Tanucci, at Naples, and Choiseul, in France, were all on their side. The object of the leaders of the party being the entire destruction of religion, it is not to be wondered that their hatred was directed in the first instance against the glorious Society of the Jesuits, then numbering twenty-two thousand learned, zealous, devoted champions of Catholic truth. The destruction of the Society, they falsely imagined, would involve the destruction of religion, never remembering that the church of the Redeemer was not founded on any body of men, but established on the immovable Rock of Ages.

In this project of the philosophers and free-thinkers, the reader has before his mind the veritable causes which led to the persecution and hatred of the Jesuit body at that time. And so much has been deemed necessary to be said in explanation of the fact, for it is to be feared there are many even among Catholics, who, because the Fathers were banished by Catholic powers, incline to the belief that they must necessarily have been guilty of some serious social or political crime, though the entire history of the time contains not not a single established instance thereof.

The course which Pombal was pursuing in Por-

tugal, Choiseul, prime-minister of Louis XV., was following in France. By means of the philosophical party, on the first April, 1762, all the Jesuit colleges within the jurisdiction of the metropolitan parliament were ordered to be closed. At the same time the country was inundated by their enemies with innumerable pamphlets, in which the Fathers were accused of almost every imaginable crime. Sacrilege, blasphemy, magic, idolatry, heresy, and schism were freely laid to their charge. In fact, they were declared to be anything or everything but members of the Catholic church, and this with the view of prejudicing the minds of the people against them.

The clergy, on the other hand, did what they could to save the Society. In a convention held at the time, they drew up a memorial, rebutting the calumnies, and imploring the protection of the king. The concluding paragraph of the prayer was as follows: "Religion commends to your guard its defenders; the church, its ministers; Christian souls, their spiritual directors; a vast portion of your subjects, the revered masters who have imparted to them their education; the youth of your empire, those who are to model their minds and direct their hearts. Do not, Sire, we implore you, refuse to accede to the expressed wishes of so many. Do not allow that in your kingdom, *contrary to the dictates of justice*, against the rules of the church and in opposition to the

civil law, an entire Society should be destroyed *without cause*. The interest of your authority itself demands this at your hands, and we profess to be as jealous of your majesty's rights as we are of our own."

The year previous, all the cardinals, archbishops and bishops of France, with the exception of the Jansenist prelate, Fitz James, had declared in favor of the Society.

There can be very little doubt that the monarch would have done justice to the Fathers if left to himself; but, like his brother of Portugal, he was ruled by a party, of which the minister was leader. The only result from the petition of the clergy, was an order to the provincial assemblies to investigate into and decide upon the constitutions of the Society. This was exactly what the enemies of religion demanded; in it they saw the complete triumph of their cause. It mattered not that the institute had been approved of by the Church in general council and by several Popes; the deputies of the various departments were sure to arrive at a different resolve. Such, in reality, was the case. With the exception of the courts of Flanders, Artois, Alsace, Besançon and Lorraine, who refused to admit that the Jesuits were the enemies of religion and the State, all the other provincial assemblies voted against the Society, called for its suppression and the expulsion of the Fathers. So far, the powers of darkness had tri-

umphed. Accordingly, on the 6th of August, 1762, the Parliament of Paris decreed that the Jesuit body could be no longer recognized as a religious community; and should, from that moment, cease to be regarded as such. Its members were to return to the world, to lay aside the habit of their institute, to avoid practicing their rules, and to cease all communication with each other as members of the same body. They were further declared incapable of holding any office pending their subscribing a formulary justifying the conduct of the government. At the same time, they were deprived of all their movable and immovable property; furniture, libraries, presbyteries, churches, etc. Thus, by an act termed legal, and in the outraged name of justice, did the high Court of Paris deprive four thousand blameless, virtuous Religious of all their worldly possessions, presumptuously arrogating to itself, in like manner, the right of secularizing the same, and dispensing them from their religious obligations to God! Of this iniquitous proceeding, the Protestant writer, Schall, speaks in the following condemnatory words: "*The decree of the parliament is too clearly stamped with passion and injustice to gain the approval of any honest, unprejudiced mind; the attempt to force the Jesuits to condemn the principles of their order, was to pronounce an arbitrary decision upon a fact of history, evidently false, and made up for the occasion. But, in such dis-*

eases of the human mind, as those which affected the generations then on earth, reason is silent, the judgment is clouded by prejudice."

Of the four thousand Religious then in France, only five had the weakness to subscribe to the oath required by their enemies. That the country might not consider the action of the ministers entirely unjust, the magnanimous parliament had the generosity to allow some of the disbanded Religious a franc, and others a franc and a half a day, for their support! But even this was not always exempt from deduction.

This atrocious, tyrannical conduct of government at length awakened the zeal, and called forth the just indignation of the Archbishop of Paris, the venerable Christopher de Beaumont. He, at least, had the courage to deplore the ruin which was being brought upon the Church and society by the expulsion of the Fathers, and the suppression of their colleges. In a pastoral issued to his clergy on the occasion, after refuting the calumnious charges made by the infidels against the Society, he concludes in these words: "We are convinced that this institute is *pious*, as the Council of Trent has declared; that it is *venerable*, as it was styled by the illustrious Bossuet. We know that the doctrine of the whole body *has never been corrupted*; and we are very far from looking upon the 'Collection of Assertions,' as the summary and result of the teaching proper to the Jesuits."

This courageous remonstrance on the part of the venerable prelate, so far from recalling the guilty to a sense of their duty, only served to urge them to greater extremes. By a vote of the assembly the letter of the Archbishop was ordered to be publicly burned, and the prelate himself peremptorily ordered to appear before the bar of the house to account for his conduct. Ashamed of this utter forgetfulness of what was due to religious authority, and fearing the consequences likely to result from the action of parliament, the weak-minded, dissolute monarch adopted the very questionable course of exiling the Archbishop in order to shield him against the wrath of his ministers; while the latter, not to be entirely frustrated in their purpose, offered a further indignity to the Fathers by requiring them, under immediate penalty of banishment, to make a formal renunciation of the institute to which they belonged. It is unnecessary to say that the whole of the Fathers rejected with promptness and virtuous indignation the unholy alternative, and stood ready to a man to retire from the kingdom rather than formally renounce their beloved Society. The country, however, was saved from this utter humiliation and disgrace by the refusal of the monarch to sign the decree of expulsion, inasmuch as it contained the objectionable words *forever* and *irrevocably*.

“The edict of expulsion,” wrote the King to his

minister, "is too severe in the expressions, *forever* and *irrevocably*. Does not experience teach us that the severest edicts have been revoked, no matter how binding or strict may have been their clauses?

"I am not cordially in favor of the Jesuits, but they have been always *detested by every heresy*; hence their success. I will not say more. If, for the peace of my kingdom I banish them, I would not have it believed that I entirely approve all that the parliament has said and done against them.

"In yielding to the judgment of others for the peace of my kingdom, it is necessary that the modification I suggest should be made, otherwise I will do nothing. I must conclude, or I shall say too much."

From this it is not difficult to see how different were the sentiments of the king and the parliament; the one was willing to sacrifice them in part, the other would be satisfied with nothing but their perpetual and irrevocable banishment. In fine, a compromise was ultimately effected by which it was agreed that the Fathers might remain in the kingdom, but on condition of their reporting themselves semi-annually to the local authorities, thereby placing themselves, as an able Catholic writer has aptly expressed it, in the category of "ticket-of-leave men."

While these shameful proceedings were being

enacted against the Society in France, the sovereign Pontiff, Clement XIII., frequently wrote to the king, exhorting him to do justice to the Fathers and prevent the triumph of iniquity, but the unhappy monarch was ruled by his minister, who, in turn, was but the creature or mouthpiece of the popular party. Finally, finding all his appeals and remonstrances unheeded, in deference to the entire Catholic Episcopate, he issued the memorable Bull *Apostolicum*, in which he condemned all the proceedings taken against the Society both in Portugal and France. A copy of this document was sent to all the Catholic powers, but such was the perverseness of the time, that it was prohibited being published in the kingdoms of France, Portugal and Naples.

The same spirit that was at work for the destruction of religion in France and Portugal was also quietly showing itself at this time in the kingdom of Spain. As long, however, as Elizabeth Farnese, mother of Charles III., was alive, the philosophical party had no chance in the kingdom of her son. That virtuous, noble-hearted lady would not suffer a Society, approved by one of her relatives, to be handed over to its enemies. But the protection thus accorded to it was only of a temporary character, for in 1763 the Queen mother departed this life, and then the enemies of religion had nothing to fear. Caution, however, had to be observed. Charles had a certain sense of religion, and

it was only by embittering his mind and prejudicing him by calumny against the Society that the conspirators could hope for the entire accomplishment of their purpose. To this end a pretext had to be sought, nor had the party very long to delay in finding one entirely suited to their purpose. On the 26th of March, 1766, Madrid became the scene of an open insurrection. The people in great numbers rose against the exorbitant rate of provisions, and paraded the streets clamoring for a just tariff and a redress of other popular grievances. The king had barely time to escape; for the insurgents were already at his palace. They had fallen upon the Walloons, or body guard, and massacred them in great numbers. At this critical moment, when the people were about giving themselves up to the wildest excesses, the Jesuits, most beloved by the populace, appeared on the scene; and, by their influence and popularity with the people, succeeded in appeasing the anger of the mob, and in restoring order to the city. The capital, and very probably the kingdom, was thus saved from the horrors of a revolutionary outburst, and yet, marvelous to consider, this very act, which should have earned for them the undying gratitude of the monarch and the State, was made use of by their enemies for the completion of their ruin. D'Aranda, the prime minister, the friend and confidant of the iniquitous Pombal, together with Choiseul, minister of France, per-

suaded his majesty that as the Fathers had succeeded so effectually in quelling the outbreak, they must needs necessarily be the originators thereof!

Another circumstance was laid hold of at the time to further embitter the king's mind against the Society. Juan de Palafox, the Jansenistic Bishop of Angelopolis, was said by his party to have been a most saintly and virtuous man, and to have performed during life several miracles. The king was applied to to seek for his canonization, but in this he was opposed by the Fathers, who endeavored, but in vain, to enlighten his majesty as to the true motives of the sectaries. This, too, served to estrange the king not a little from the Society. But more was still required to effect its entire ruin. Nothing short of a belief that his crown and his life were in danger could induce the naturally virtuous and over-confiding monarch to banish the Fathers from his dominions. This the enemies of religion clearly observed, and they determined upon having recourse to that final extreme. As in the case of the heir apparent to the Portuguese crown, they persuaded the king that the Fathers were engaged in a project for placing his brother Don Louis on the throne. In support of this assertion, they showed him a document purporting to have come from the Father-General at Rome, in which the illegitimacy of the king was called into account; and measures pointed out for placing the crown on the head of the legitimate

heir. "The letter," says the Protestant Schall, "was written by order of the Duke of Choiseul by a skillful forger, who succeeded in perfectly imitating the writing of the general; it was directed to the rector in Madrid, and mailed at Rome. D'Aranda was on the watch for the moment of its arrival, and held himself in readiness to seize it before it could even be read." The plot was as successful in every way as the authors could have wished. The king, taken entirely by surprise, fell a victim to the treachery of his minister. He never for a moment suspected the snare that was laid for his ruin. He believed all that he had heard; and yet, amid the indignation and grief that struggled in his breast, he hesitated to carry out the wishes of his advisers, by banishing the Religious. Persuaded by the leaders of the plot that secrecy was absolutely necessary, in order to avoid the imaginary danger impending, Charles privately consulted several learned divines, desiring to know if a monarch would be justified in banishing from his dominions a religious community for reasons which he could not make public. The theologians unanimously returned an answer in the negative, but the minister and courtiers answered in the affirmative. To the latter the king unhappily deferred; and then was issued that terrible order by which all the Religious were unmercifully banished from the entire empire of Spain. The instructions which were

signed by his majesty, and countersigned by d'Aranda, were inclosed under three covers, on the innermost of which were the words : " On pain of death this packet is not to be opened until the evening of the second of April, 1767." Within, the instructions ran as follows: " I invest you with all my authority, and all my royal power, to proceed forthwith to the house of the Jesuits. You will there seize all the Religious, and convey them as prisoners to the port herein indicated within twenty-four hours. They will there be placed on board a vessel, which must be in attendance to receive them. At the time you make the arrests, you will see that all the papers and documents are taken possession of and placed under seal, and that no one be permitted to take away anything but a change of linen and his books of devotion. If, after the embarkation there be found within your department a single Jesuit, *be he sick or even dying*; your punishment will be death. THE KING."

Thus, on the 2d of April, 1767, all the Jesuits throughout the whole of the Spanish dominions, both at home and abroad, in the east and the west, were seized by order of Charles III., and without any hearing or trial, without even knowing the cause of complaint, were thrown into prison, and treated as the veriest criminals. The numbers subjected to this horrible outrage, unparalleled in the annals of history, amounted, in all, to close on six thousand. On the same 2d of April, his ma-

jesty issued a royal proclamation, or pragmatic sanction, in order to justify himself in the eyes of his subjects, declaring that the motives which urged him to that course were sufficient, but yet should *ever remain buried in his royal breast*, and that if he did not act with greater severity, it was only owing to *clemency*. The document also made known to the public, that any one convicted of speaking or writing in favor of the Fathers, would be considered guilty of a capital offence. Even parents were strictly prohibited holding intercourse directly or indirectly with their children of the Society. Tyranny, absurdity and folly could hardly proceed to further extremes.

In California, the royal instructions were carried out with the same vigor and promptitude as in the other dependencies, with this only difference, that the distance from Spain prevented their being executed on the day appointed by the king. Their execution was entrusted to Don Gaspar Portala, who was named governor of the country. He was attended by a body of troops, fifty in number, in order that if necessary, he might be able to forcibly expel the Religious. The governor and party arrived in the country toward the end of November, 1767, and immediately proceeded to execute the royal commands. Up to this moment the Fathers were entirely unaware of what was about to take place. They had not heard of the proceedings in Europe and Mexico. In compli-

ance with an invitation of the governor, to meet him at Loretto, the Father visitor arrived there on the eve of the Nativity of Our Blessed Redeemer. On the following day, which should have been one of rejoicing rather than of mourning, he heard from the lips of the governor the contents of the fatal decree. It was read for him and his companions, in the presence of the necessary witnesses. From that moment they were no longer their own masters; they were prisoners in the hands of the civil authorities. If they were not cast into prison, it was merely owing to the kindness and humanity of the governor. They were, however, obliged to hand over all charge of their establishments, and to give an account of all their possessions; while, at the same time, they found themselves prohibited from exercising any public ecclesiastical functions.

Thereupon the Superior immediately wrote to all the Religious, acquainting them with the unpleasant instructions of government. It was a part of the governor's order that they were to remain at their several posts till replaced by the expected Franciscans, then on their way to the country, when they should repair to Loretto, bringing with them only the most necessary articles. The instructions of the governor also required them to preach to their flocks, exhorting them to obedience and submission to the new order of things. Having faithfully executed the orders of their Su-

perior, the Fathers started for Loretto. The scene witnessed through the country as they parted with their respective congregations, has never been equaled in the history of California. The loss of friends, relatives or parents, could not evoke a greater expression of grief and affection. The remembrance of all that the Fathers had done for them, the blessings, spiritual and temporal, which they had conferred on them, now came strongly before the minds of the people, and produced the liveliest sentiments of sorrow and gratitude. Others, indeed, it is true, were coming to replace them, but they were strangers, and unacquainted with the language and manners of the people. At length the fatal moment arrived; on the same day and about the same hour, all the Religious, except those of Loretto, bid a farewell adieu to their respective people. The impression made on the natives is best described in the words of one who took part in one of those scenes: "The fatal day is come. All the people surround the altar in silence, to assist at the holy sacrifice for the last time. The mass finished, the Father proceeds to the door to take a last farewell of his desolate children. At that moment all threw themselves upon him, kissing his hands and sobbing aloud, pressing him, at the same time with such fervor, that he was well-nigh being smothered. On the other hand, the pastor gave expression to his grief in an abundance of tears, and knew not how to disengage

himself from the arms of the people." Thus, with hearts full of grief, and eyes streaming with tears, these simple-minded, affectionate people, parted with their Fathers, their guides and support. In other instances, their affection was expressed more convincingly. The pastor of the mission of St. Gertrude, the Rev. Father Retz, being unable to walk or to ride, on account of an accident he had met with a little before, the Christians, in order that he might not be disappointed in joining his brethren, bore him on their shoulders a distance of one hundred and twenty miles to the mission of Loretto.

Arrived at that place, the Fathers lost no time in taking their departure. They were in all fifteen and a lay-brother, the exact number of those who had died in the country. The 3d of February was fixed for their departure, but the Governor fearing the impression that their departure might make on the people, if conducted by day, ordered the embarkation to take place in the night. The precaution, however, was unavailing, for no sooner were they taken out than the whole town was astir. The simple announcement, "The Fathers are going," drew every one that was capable of moving to the spot. In vain would the soldiers endeavor to keep them at a distance. With a common impulse, caused by love and grief, and which brooks neither delay nor hindrance, the entire multitude prostrated themselves on the ground

before the assembled Religious, some giving expression to their sorrow and affection by kissing their hands and feet, others on their knees imploring pardon for their past offenses; while others, still more ardent in their affection, pressed the Fathers tenderly in their arms as they wished them a lasting and parting adieu. This painful spectacle at an end, the missionaries addressed their last words to the people. They were short but impressive: "Adieu, dear Indians, adieu California, adieu land of our adoption, fiat voluntas Dei." Then, amid the tears, the sobs and lamentations of the multitude, the fifteen Jesuit Fathers, reciting aloud the litany of the Blessed Mother of God, turned their face from the land of their labors, banished by orders of a monarch, whose only reason for expelling them from his dominions were the imaginary crimes laid to their charge by the enemies of religion. Thus, on the 3d of February, 1768, were lost to California the presence and labors of that noble and devoted body of men, who, during the comparatively short period of their missionary career, had converted the whole of Lower California from Cape St. Lucas to the mouth of the Colorado.

CHAPTER XX.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY.—NO CHARGES PROVED AGAINST THEM.
—PROTESTANT TESTIMONY IN FAVOR OF THE FATHERS.—TRUE CAUSE
OF THE ANTIPATHY OF THEIR ENEMIES.—INTRIGUES OF THEIR EN-
EMIES.—ELECTION OF CLEMENT XIV.—FREDERICK THE GREAT'S
OPINION OF THE SOCIETY.—PRESSURE ON HIS HOLINESS TO SUP-
PRESS THE SOCIETY.—ITS SUPPRESSION.—OPINION OF THE WORLD
ON THE ACT.—REORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY.

HAVING laid before the reader, in connection with our subject, the measures adopted toward the Jesuits by some of the principal powers of Europe, and their expulsion from Lower California by order of Charles III., it may not be amiss to continue the history of the Society till its final suppression by the sovereign Pontiff, in 1773. The very different judgments that have been passed on this subject, both by the Protestant and Catholic world, demand, in the interests of truth, a clear and accurate account of the motives and reasons that prompted the act. Judging from the statements of unfavorable writers, or from their own peculiar assumptions, Protestants generally regard the suppression of the body as an act of well-merited chastisement for the secret and political intrigues of which they suppose the members to have been guilty; while Catholics, on the other hand, from not carefully examining the en-

tire bearings of the case, and not taking into account the very critical condition of the Church at the time, fail to recognize in the act of suppression aught but the most inexplicable weakness on the part of the Vicar of Christ. That both are laboring under a very grievous mistake, we propose to show.

In order to form an accurate judgment of the merits of the case, it is necessary to remember the efforts made by the infidels and free-thinkers of the age against the Religious, and the dangers that threatened the Church in case their demands were refused. In a previous chapter we have shown how the courts of Spain, Portugal and France earnestly solicited the suppression of the Society at the behests of the classes to whom we allude, and whose only cause of complaint against the Society was, the great power and influence its members possessed as teachers of religion. That the members of the Society were not guilty of any of the crimes laid to their charge, social, political or other, for which they should be subjected to banishment, is abundantly clear from the fact that in none of the countries where their enemies called loudly for their ruin, and where they had the power in their own hands, were any of the members convicted or even arraigned on a definite charge, with the exception of Lavalette and Malagrida, to whose memories the world has long since done the amplest justice.

It is true the rules and principles of the Society so often approved and commended by the Church and her rulers, were condemned; but condemned only by the infidel parliament of a dissolute monarch, the true value of whose censure may be learned from the words of the Protestant Schall, quoted on another occasion: "The decree of the parliament is too clearly stamped *with passion and injustice*, to gain the approval of any honest, unprejudiced mind."

If the assertions set forth in the anonymous pamphlet cast broadcast through the community to excite the people against the Religious were true only in part, how is it that not one of their most inveterate enemies came forward to accuse them in person? How is it, if they were the intriguers and intermeddlers in the affairs of the State of which they were so unscrupulously charged, that some or other of the governments of whom they were subjects, had none of them judicially arraigned and legally condemned? How is it, that when they had to be exiled and their properties confiscated, the proceedings taken against them were marked by a want of all law, and even in defiance of the first principles of justice; that when his majesty of Spain drove them unscrupulously from all his possessions, both at home and abroad, he could find no other or better excuse as a justification of his arbitrary and tyrannical measure, than the unsatisfactory declar-

ation that he kept the motive enclosed in his breast? How is it, in fine, that neither time, labor nor research, has ever been able to show any document, writing or record of any description, by which the guilt or complicity of these men could in any manner be reasonably established? The reason is clear; they were innocent—innocent of the crimes laid to their charge; the best and most satisfactory evidence of which is the fact that when, without warning, all their religious establishments were entered in Spain and elsewhere, not a letter or object was found, calculated to compromise in the smallest a single member of the Society. Even Protestant historians have long since begun to acknowledge this notable fact. "If we divest ourselves of prejudice," says Mr. Dunham in his *History of Spain*, "in weighing the conduct and the character of the Jesuits—still more, if we contrast them with those of their persecutors, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that their lives were generally not merely blameless, but useful; that they were the victims of a systematic conspiracy, more selfish in its objects, and more atrocious than any which was ever held up to the execration of mankind. With a refinement of cruelty which we should not have expected from the court of Carlos, they were forbidden even to complain, under the penalty of losing the annual pittance assigned them; nay, the Spaniard who presumed to speak or write in their defence

was declared guilty of high treason. But these venerable men were resigned to their fate; so far from uttering one word of complaint, they soothed their irritated flocks, whom they calmly exhorted to obey the civil powers." "I cannot conclude the just encomiums of these men," says an eye-witness to their expulsion from the Philippine Islands, "without observing that in a situation where the extreme attachment of the natives to their pastors might, with little encouragement, have given occasion to all the evils of violence and insurrection—I saw them meet the edict for the abolition of their order with the deference due to the civil authority; but, at the same time, with a strength and firmness of mind truly manly and heroic."

The true and undoubted cause, then, of the hatred and antipathy entertained toward the Society, at the period of which we are writing, is to be sought for and found in the hatred and antipathy borne by the philosophers and irreligionists of the day against the entire Catholic Church, and against the Jesuit Fathers in particular, as its best and noblest defenders. In a former chapter we have seen how Clement XIII. nobly defended the Society against their numerous and implacable enemies, censuring in the strongest and most unequivocal terms the act of the secular power in attempting, as he said, "to usurp the doctrinal teaching which was entrusted only to the pastors

of Israel—to the watchful shepherds of the flock.” “Imputations and calumnies,” continues the Pontiff, “are heaped upon the institute of the regular clergy of the Society of Jesus, a pious institute, useful to the Church, long approved by the Apostolic See, honored by the Roman Pontiffs and the Council of Trent, *with imperishable praise*,” etc. Later, on the same sovereign authority, in his *Bull Apostolicum*, issued, as he said, at the instance of the entire Catholic hierarchy, took occasion to pay a still higher tribute of praise to the Society by formally approving and confirming the institute. When, however, in spite of all his endeavors the enemies of religion had succeeded in suppressing the body and banishing the members from some of the principal countries of Europe, the blow was too great for the venerable man; he sank under its weight, and died broken-hearted, on the 2d of February, 1769.

The efforts of the anti-Catholic and infidel party were now renewed on a still larger scale. The moment seemed favorable for the kings and philosophers to accomplish their purpose. Now, or never, they were determined to have a Pontiff who, according to the language of the Marquis of d’Anheterre, “would suit the emergency.” Every effort was accordingly made to secure the election of a man according to their own heart. The Bourbons were the most active and unscrupulous in their endeavors. The most shameful and repre-

hensible maneuvers were resorted to by the ambassadors to secure a favorable election. It was at first proposed to exclude every member of the conclave known or suspected of being favorable to the Society. Against this the Cardinal de Bernis loudly protested, in a letter to the representative of France: "It is for the honor of the crown that I speak. Never before have they tried to elect a Pope by excluding more than a half of the Sacred College! This is unprecedented. It is necessary to be reasonable, and not place the sacred college in the predicament of having to separate and to protest against such a proceeding. It is impossible to form a plan of action upon a system so generally exclusive, that it will include only four or five members, some of whom are too young. In a word, what can one do who has the choice of grasping at the moon or of rotting in a dungeon."¹ Baffled in this, the Catholic powers resorted to other equally unlawful and reprehensible means of accomplishing their purpose. By the first they endeavored to force the sacred assembly into passing a resolution making the suppression of the Society a condition of the validity of election; and, secondly, they resolved upon withholding their acknowledgment of the Pontiff elect until he had promised to act in accordance with their views. Both these propositions, it is hardly necessary to

(1) *History of the Society of Jesus*: by Daurignac; English Translation by James Clements, vol. 11, p. 169.

say, were indignantly rejected by the venerable assembly. The members of the conclave had assembled in council to obey the dictates of conscience, and not the behests of unscrupulous monarchs. The best and most satisfactory evidence that they did not regard the suggestions of the powers in the election of the Pontiff, is the notable fact that, while at that moment religious orders and societies were much in disfavor at the principal courts, the all but unanimous selection of the conclave fell not only upon the only Religious in the assembly, but upon one who had been raised to the dignity of Cardinal at the suggestion of the Jesuit Body.¹

The Pope-elect, who took the name of Clement XIV., was crowned on the fourth of June, by Cardinal Alexander Albani. Then begun, in all earnestness, that terrible contest between the Pontiff and the Catholic princes, which ended only in the suppression of the great Society. The situation of Europe at that time was most dangerous and alarming. Never before, perhaps, did such ruin threaten the Church in Europe. The anti-Catholic party was dominant in every country; an alarming spirit of hostility to the Holy See had openly manifested itself at all the Catholic courts. Schism was openly talked of and pre-

(1) *Lives and Times of the Roman Pontiffs*: by Chevalier Artand de Montor; English Translation. Vol. 11, p. 333. *History of the Society of Jesus*: Daurignac, vol. 11, p. 170.

meditated by the powers. To avert this terrible danger, to retain the Catholic sovereigns in their faithful allegiance, and yet to do no violence to conscience, was the great question to be solved, and which certainly demanded the exercise of the greatest wisdom and most consummate prudence.

From the moment of the Pope's election, there seems to have been a latent suspicion that the Society was doomed. On the sixteenth of June, D'Alembert wrote to Frederick the Great, in the following terms: "It is said that the Jesuits have but little to hope from the Franciscan Ganganelli, and that St. Ignatius is likely to be sacrificed to St. Francis of Assisium. It appears to me that the holy Father, Franciscan though he be, would be acting very foolishly thus to disband his regiment of guards, simply out of complaisance to Catholic princes. To me it appears that this treaty resembles that of the wolves with the sheep, of which the first condition was that the sheep should give up their dogs; it is well known in what position they after found themselves. Be that as it may, it would be strange Sire, that while their most Christian, most Catholic, most apostolic, and very faithful majesties destroyed the body guard of the Holy See, your most heretical majesty should be the only one to retain them." The object of this letter could hardly be mistaken. The latent sarcasm touching the incongruity of his heretical majesty being the only defender of the Society, was to pre-

pare the Prussian king for expelling them from his dominions, in case of their condemnation by Rome. Frederick, however, though a Protestant and a free-thinker, refused to be influenced in that fashion. Writing to Voltaire at the time, he declared his intention of retaining the Religious: "That good Franciscan of the Vatican leaves me my dear Jesuits, who are persecuted everywhere else. I will preserve the precious seed, so as to be able one day to supply it to such as may desire again to cultivate this rare plant." What he thought of their enemies, he expresses in equally terse and expressive language. "If I sought," said he, "to chastise one of my provinces, I would place it *under the control of the philosophers!*" But Frederick's refusal to join in the league in no way impeded the Catholic princes from pursuing their project.

Eighteen days after the coronation of the new Pontiff, the ministers of France, Spain and Naples presented a memorial to his Holiness, soliciting the entire and absolute suppression of the society. Impelled by a blind, unaccountable hatred, the enemies of religion seem to have regarded the mere existence of the Fathers, as a religious body, the only veritable obstacle that stood in the way of their happiness. Clement refused to comply with the prayer of the petitioners. Writing to the king of France, he alleges as a reason his inability to condemn a society confirmed by a general council, and approved by several of his predecessors.

“I can neither” he says, “censure nor abolish an institute which has been commended by nineteen of my predecessors. Still less can I do so, since it has been confirmed by the Council of Trent, for, according to your French maxims, the general council is above the Pope. If it be so desired, I will call together a general council, in which everything shall be fully and fairly discussed, for and against.”

The contest was not ended here; happy for the sake of honor and justice it had been. For two years the different powers prosecuted their unholy and iniquitous purpose with a zeal and an energy worthy of a better cause. They would give the Pontiff no peace or rest till they wrested from him the coveted decree. One great Catholic power alone was on the side of the Religious. Maria of Austria would not join in the unholy league; she even exhorted and encouraged the sovereign Pontiff to save the Society, but even she at length gave in her adhesion. The mother's love triumphed over the love of religion. Entirely abandoned and unsupported, with nearly all the monarchs of Europe against him, the Pope still held out. In fine, fearing the consequences that a further refusal might lead to, believing that the Society, under the circumstances, could be of no good to religion, and desiring above all to restore peace and tranquillity to the Church of which he was chief pastor, Clement XIV. drew up and

put in force the ever memorable Brief, "Dominus ac Redemptor."

After recapitulating the reasons which induced him to act, and having cited the instances of many of his predecessors, having abolished several religious societies and orders commended and approved by the Church, such as the Knight Templars, suppressed by Clement V.; the Humiliati by Pius V.; the Reformed Conventual Friars and the Orders of St. Ambrose and Barnabas by Urban VIII.; the Regulars of the Poor of the Mother of God of the Pious School, the Order of St. Basil of the Armenians, the Congregation of the Good Jesus by Innocent X., the Orders of St. George of Alga, of the Hieronymites and the Jesuats, founded by St. John Columbini, by Clement IX.; he then proceeds in the Brief. "Led by such considerations, and urged by still other reasons supplied to us by the laws of prudence and the excellent rule of the Universal Church, which are deeply engraven in our heart: walking in the footsteps of our predecessors, and remembering the words of Gregory X., in the General Council of Latazan, as it at present concerns an order included in the number of the mendicant orders, its institutions, and its privileges, we, after mature examination, of our own certain knowledge, and in the plenitude of the apostolic power, *suppress and extinguish the said Society.*"¹ Thus fell, on the 21st July, 1773,

(1) *Lives and Times of the Roman Pontiffs*, vol. II., p 358.

the great Society of Jesus, which for two hundred and thirty-three years occupied such a prominent position in the history of the Catholic world; its name being intimately connected in almost every country with learning, science and missionary enterprise. At the moment of its suppression the institute numbered twenty-two thousand five hundred and eighty-nine members, of whom eleven thousand two hundred and ninety-three were priests. The labors of the whole were divided between twenty-four professed houses, six hundred and sixty-nine colleges, sixty-one novitiates, three hundred and forty residences, one hundred and seventy-one seminaries, and two hundred and seventy-three missions.

The manner in which this great, devoted body of men submitted to the authority of the Church, destroying their religious existence, is the noblest and most marvelous act of submission recorded in the annals of the Church. By it they demonstrated more clearly than any reasoning could have done, the purity, holiness and fervor of the institute. Without a murmur, a reproof or complaint, twenty-two thousand men, at the mere bidding of the Vicar of Christ, put off their religious attire, walked out of their holy retreats, handed over their colleges and seminaries, divested themselves of their churches and oratories, and, by an act of unparalleled, heroic submission, exclaimed, with one common accord, as they witnessed the last

moments of the Society: "Fiat voluntas Dei!" Never has the world been edified by so perfect and heroic an act of obedience—an act which, while it covered the Society with glory, assimilated it most closely to Him whose name was its title, and who, through innocence itself in obedience to the will of his heavenly father, was obedient—even unto the death of the cross.

Was the suppression of the Society an act dictated by prudence? was it wise? was it for the general good and benefit of the world at large? These are questions which subsequent ages have repeatedly asked, and regarding which there has been such a diversity of opinion even among Catholics. Humanly speaking, one is tempted to regard the act of suppression as one of the greatest misfortunes that could have befallen the Church at the time. It was, as the infidel d'Alembert would have it, disbanding his Holiness' regiment of guards; yea, it was more. It was disbanding the bravest and noblest battalion in the service of the Church. For two hundred years the members of the institute did battle, unhesitatingly and unwaveringly, with the enemies of religion, successfully combating, both at home and abroad, the errors and vices of the times. They were—indeed, it could not be denied—among the chief defenders of the doctrines of the Church, and of the rights and prerogatives of the sovereign Pontiff. When Lutheranism first made its appearance in Germany,

and, under the specious pretext of virtue and a love of divine truth, began to disturb the peace, harmony and tranquillity of the Christian world, among the first and most learned opponents of the novelties of the time (though the Society was but yet in its infancy) were Jesuit Fathers, whose success in defence of Catholic truth may be judged from the violence and hatred of their opponents, whose fast-failing cause urged them to clamor for the death and destruction of the Religious.

Later on, when the same torrent of error seemed ready to burst over Italy, having already penetrated into several of its towns, it was the same chivalrous body, in the persons of Fathers Brouet, Salmeron and Laynez, who, at the call of Paul III., came forward in defence of Catholic truth, and not only opposed an insurmountable barrier to its further advance, but, by the force and brilliancy of their genius, rolled back the tide of deception into the country of its origin.

When, again, the representatives of the entire Catholic world were assembled in council at Trent, to treat and determine the most important matters of faith, morals and discipline, those who spoke in the name of the sovereign Pontiff, as theologians elect to his Holiness, were members of the illustrious order of St. Ignatius—an honor the more remarkable and appreciable, considering the age of the men and the youth of the Society.¹

(1) Father Laynez was but thirty-four years of age, and Father Salmeron only thirty-one. Vide *Hist. Society*: vol. I., p. 55.

It is not to be forgotten either, that, even from the beginning, members of the same remarkable society carried the light of the gospel to the most distant parts of the earth—to the east and the west—illumining and enlightening those who “sat in darkness and the shadow of death,” leading them forth from the ignorance and error of their ways, and enrolling them as members of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, not merely by thousands, but by tens of thousands, and millions.¹ It was members of the same society, too, that made the Catholic name and the Catholic cause honored and respected at the courts of the Great Mogul and of Kubla Khan, at Delhi and Peking, while others, with an equally laudable zeal for the interest and advantages of religion, took as their portion, and cherished as their special inheritance, the savage and barbarous tribes of North, South and Central America.

But when, independent of this, we consider the the subject in its larger and more general aspect, and consider the advantages necessarily accruing to the Church from the labors, the zeal and exertions of twenty-two thousand holy, zealous, devoted men, many of whom were remarkable as missionaries, theologians, philosophers and orators, in whose hands were placed the government and control of much of the secular and sacred learning of the time, and who, at that very moment, seemed

(1) St. Francis Xavier converted about two millions.

most necessary to combat and successfully oppose the infidelity and atheism of the hour, we cannot help imagining that the abolition and destruction of such a grand, powerful devoted society, was an injury to the Catholic church. When, on the other hand, we hear the sovereign Pontiff declaring, in his capacity as Vicar of Christ and teacher of Catholic truth, that the sacrifice was a necessity demanded by the exigencies of the time; "that the Society could no longer produce the abundant fruits and advantages for which it was instituted;" that if it existed peace could not come to the Church; then, indeed, the merits of the case assume an entirely different aspect in our eyes. To the memory of him whose name is so intimately connected with the abolition of the institute, it is only just to observe, that the act of suppression was not a rash and arbitrary exercise of sovereign power; not an act unique in its way, without any examples or precedents in the history of the past; not an act, in fine, performed by caprice, without grave consideration and mature deliberation. For four years from the time of his election, Clement XIV. withstood the constant and united solicitations and entreaties of some of the most powerful monarchs of Europe, repeatedly declaring his inability to censure or abolish a society commended and approved by so many of his predecessors, and confirmed by the voice of the entire Catholic world assembled in general council. And it was

only at the end of that period, when finding himself in direct opposition and antagonism with all the Catholic powers, and fearing the consequences a further refusal might entail on the Church, he drew up and enforced the memorable brief. It is, then, a clear and undeniable historical fact, that the suppression of the Society of St. Ignatius of Loyola, commonly called the Society of Jesus, was not the result or consequence of any error of doctrine, of any corruption of morals, of any laxity of discipline, of any secret, social or political aim, but as an offering—a sacrifice—made to the cruel and relentless demands of the hour; just as the merchant at sea reluctantly casts into the deep in a moment of peril a portion of his valuable cargo, in order to secure the safety of the remainder. Such, indeed, is the acknowledgment of Protestant writers themselves. “The Brief of Suppression” says Schall, “condemns neither the doctrine, nor the morals, nor the discipline of the Jesuits.” And in equally clear and unmistakable words, Sismondi also says: “Clement XIV. published the brief by which he abolished that order *not in punishment of any fault*, but as a political measure, and for the peace of Christendom.”

While then, for the reasons alleged, the Society of the Jesuits must be acquitted of every deed and every act that could have merited for it so heavy and grievous a chastisement, and while its suppression is to be attributed to its legitimate source

—the hatred and implacable animosity of the evil-minded men of the time—we must not forget what in justice is due to the memory of him on whom the burden of the odium is made mainly to rest. If, in consequence of a refusal to suppress the Society, only one of the countries of Europe with its millions of inhabitants were torn from the centre of Catholic unity, a thing not entirely improbable, considering the feeling and temper of the Catholic rulers at the time, who would not be ready to deplore the inaction of the sovereign Pontiff—who would not be ready to say that a greater loss was entailed on the Church. The act of suppression, it must be remembered, was not a violation of individual or corporate right; it did not entrench on the dominion of justice. It was merely an act of administrative, jurisdictional power. The Society was called into existence under the sanction and authority of the Church, and the Church had the power and the right, whenever it seemed fit, to abolish the same. The object of its creation at all was to bring peace and harmony to the Christian world—to advance Catholic interests; that object at the time, from the unhappy circumstances of the moment, seemed entirely defeated; yea, the Society seemed to stand in the way of so desirable an end. The limits of its action, too, were greatly restricted, being banished from and suppressed in the principal Catholic countries. But, apart entirely from such considerations, it seems to us

that the suppression of the institute was made to serve, in the inscrutable designs of Divine Providence, a still higher and nobler purpose, that of offering to the world an incontrovertible proof of the divinity of the Catholic Church. The philosophers and freethinkers of the time had counted upon the destruction of the religion as a consequence of the destruction of the Jesuit body. They thought that when the out-works were taken the citadel would necessarily fall; that when the Church's ablest defenders were removed the Church itself would be presently their victim. They were deceived; the first object of their ambition was attained; the Society was suppressed, but the Church remained. In vain did they attempt to advance any further and to destroy this creation of God. Their shafts of ridicule, calumny and false reasoning fell powerless against the impenetrable buckler of Catholic truth. More invulnerable than the Trojan Achilles, the Catholic Church stood forth unscathed in the midst of her numerous foes, and opening their eyes to this notable fact, the philosophers and infidels of the time must have acknowledged to themselves, if aught of sincerity remained in their hearts, that a Church which could afford to dispense, at a critical moment, with twenty-two thousand of its ablest defenders, and yet suffer no loss, must, indeed, be more than the creation of man—must be divine.

At the end of the volume will be found an ac-

count of the sufferings of the Fathers during the long years of their imprisonment from 1762 to 1777 by the authority of the Portuguese crown. They have no parallel but in the sufferings of the primitive Christians under the Pagan Emperors of Rome.



J. J. Van der Pyl del.

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Apostle of Upper California*

HISTORY
OF THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN
CALIFORNIA.

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IN TWO VOLUMES. ILLUSTRATED.
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CHAPTER I.]

ARRIVAL OF THE FRANCISCANS—SKETCH OF FATHER JUNIPERO—HIS FIRST MISSION—PROJECT OF CHARLES III. FOR FORMING INDEPENDENT KINGDOMS OUT OF THE AMERICAN VICEROYALTIES—COMMENCEMENT OF THE MISSIONS IN UPPER CALIFORNIA—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSIONS OF SAN DIEGO—LETTER OF FATHER JUNIPERO—EXPLANATION OF THE TERMS PRESIDIO, PUEBLO AND MISSION.

WE have seen, in the previous volume, how the Jesuit Fathers were expelled from Lower California by orders of Charles III. The property they had acquired, and which consisted of extensive lands and herds, passed into the hands of the government, to be used for the advantage of their successors. For themselves they were permitted to retain only the most necessary articles. The same devoted, apostolic spirit that animated these, the first missionaries, was alike conspicuous in their successors. At the head of the new administration charged with the entire spiritual and temporal concerns of the country, was Father Junipero Serra, a man of great zeal, much learning, and extensive administrative ability. His endeavors in behalf of the Indians have placed him in the foremost

rank of apostolical missionaries. As his labors have been intimately connected with the establishment and progress of the missions in Upper California, and the early history of the country in general, it is only proper to introduce him, at the outset, to the notice of the reader.

Father Junipero Serra, the most remarkable man under the new administration, was born of humble parents, in the isle of Majorca, on the 24th of November, 1713. He received in baptism the name of Michael Joseph, which he changed on his entrance into religion for that of Junipero, out of devotion to the companion of the great founder of his order.¹ From his tenderest years he was instructed in the principles of virtue, and co-operated with the graces bestowed upon him by God. His elementary studies were made in the convent of St. Bernardino. It was there he conceived the desire of devoting himself to the immediate service of God. After completing his primary course, he was sent by the Fathers, who recognized his many endowments and his natural disposition to virtue, to the capital city, Palma, in order to acquire the higher branches necessary for the holy office of priesthood. His residence at the capital only served to increase his desire of consecrating himself to the service of the altar, in the capacity of a Religious. At his earnest request, he was accord-

(1.) *Relacion Historica de la Vida*, del venerable Padre Fray Junipero Serra, p. 4.

ingly received as a member of the holy order of St. Francis, on the 14th of September, 1730, being then only in the sixteenth year of his life. From that moment his progress in virtue was remarkable. During the time of his novitiate, he applied himself with all the energy of his youthful, ardent mind, to the acquisition of the perfection necessary for so holy a state.

The better to animate himself to the observance of rule and the acquisition of virtue, he read often and carefully, the mystic works of the order, in which were recorded the numerous favors promised by God, and the illustrious founder, to those who observe their religious profession. He took a special interest, too, in perusing the chronicles of the same wherein were narrated the history of so many venerable and saintly Religious. From the constant reading of the lives of the Saints and the biographies of remarkable Religious, there was created in his mind, as in the case of the great Ignatius of Loyola, a most ardent and vehement desire of imitating their actions, and especially of those who had devoted themselves to the conversion of the gentiles. He even earnestly desired, were it the will of the Almighty, that he might be permitted to give his life in testimony of his love. Speaking to a friend of his early desire of going to America, he once said, "I had no other motive than to revive in my heart those glorious designs

which I formed in my novitiate, when reading the lives of the Saints."

At the end of his probation, which for the members of the order is a year, he made his religious profession on the 15th of September, 1731, taking for his name in religion, as I have remarked, that of Junipero, out of devotion to the companion of St. Francis. So great was the joy he experienced on that occasion, that he never forgot it during the remainder of his life; referring to it in subsequent years, he would exclaim in the words of holy writ, "*Venerunt mihi omnia bona pariter cum illa.*"

To his religious profession, too, he attributed the wonderful improvement effected at this time in his health. For being for a considerable time in a weakly, sickly condition, unable to perform the regular duties enjoined by the rule, he now made such a rapid improvement as enabled him to follow without difficulty, the regular order of the community.

In view of his very considerable talents, his superiors removed him now to their principal college, for the study of philosophy and theology. There he acquired such a reputation for learning that while yet only a student, he was appointed to a chair of philosophy—an office he discharged with such satisfaction and ability, as to attract to his lectures numbers both of the secular and regular clergy. Before the end of the philosophical curriculum, he was honored by the university of

the country, with the honorary degree of doctor of divinity, and a chair of theology. The onerous duties thus imposed upon him as professor of divinity did not prevent him from directing his attention to the salvation of souls in the preaching of the gospel, in which we are assured he acquired as much reputation as he had in the other departments. It was not that he sought the esteem and applause of the world, for his soul yearned only after the salvation of sinners, so that if, in the devoted discharge of his duty, the brilliancy of his talent acquired him the admiration of all, it was a result that he had neither contemplated nor sought. To do good to his neighbor, to fulfill the duties of his calling and thus promote the interests of religion was the great object of his ambition—the main-spring of his life.

From the time of his novitiate, when he consecrated himself to the exclusive service of God, the desire of being employed in the conversion of the gentiles was the most ardent affection of his soul. To this he was ready to sacrifice every comfort, honor and emolument. Like his great predecessor and counterpart, the mathematical professor of Ingolstadt, he was willing to exchange the honors of a university and the praises of an enlightened community for the hardships and trials of a missionary priest. Sentiments so noble, generous and praiseworthy could not fail of an ample reward—they were worthy of a Saint and an Apostle.

The voice of the Lord was not long still in his regard—it spoke to him in the depths of his heart, and bade him go forth from his country, his kindred and home, as a light and a guide to the poor wandering savages of Northern America. Then, for the first time, did he experience that happiness which none but an Apostle can feel. Gladly and devoutly he harkened to the divine voice calling him to the sublime dignity of an herald of the divine word; but lest he might be acting from impulse and mistaking his call, he took occasion to recommend himself most fervently to God and the ever immaculate Virgin, and, when assured of the divine will, he hastened, without delay, to make the necessary preparations for his departure.

On the twenty-eighth of August, 1749, in company with twenty other Religious, he embarked for America, the future scene of his missionary labors, where he was destined by Providence to be an instrument in the hands of the Lord for the conversion of thousands. The voyage being unusually long even for those days, it being ninety-nine days from their departure till their arrival, they suffered not a little towards the end from a scarcity of provisions and of water. Father Junipero, however, never for a moment lost his usual tranquillity. He was never seen to exhibit the slightest impatience. Every morning he offered the adorable sacrifice of the mass, and occupied himself during the day, when not otherwise en-

gaged, in devotional exercises and instructing the crew. So remarkable was his life even then, that he was regarded by all as a model and pattern of virtue. Before arriving at Vera Cruz, where they were to disembark, they encountered a terrible storm, by which the safety of the vessel was placed in the most imminent danger. On the fourth of December, the violence of the tempest became so alarming that all except the subject of our sketch gave themselves over as lost. When afterward asked how he maintained his tranquillity, and if he had not felt any fear, he answered in the affirmative, but added, that having remembered the end for which he had come, the fear immediately left him. To the intercession of the glorious Virgin and martyr St. Barnaba, whose festival happened on that day, the Religious attributed their happy deliverance from the midst of their dangers.

Arrived at Vera Cruz, Father Junipero, accompanied by only a single companion, and with no other provision for the journey than his firm and unalterable confidence in the overruling providence of God, set out on foot for the city of Mexico, distant from that port about five hundred leagues. During the journey they experienced most sensibly the signal protection of Heaven. An instance or two will suffice. Once during the journey, after traveling all day, they found themselves at the approach of night on the banks of a river across which they were unable to pass, while the place

they were endeavoring to reach was at some distance on the opposite side. The darkness of the night, the absence of a guide, and the danger of attempting the stream under the circumstances, caused them the greatest embarrassment. To return whence they had started in the morning was impracticable, to seek a guide was in vain, while to remain exposed to the inclemency of the night at that, the coldest part of the year, would likely have resulted in sickness or death. One means only seemed capable of delivering them from their unpleasant and, indeed, dangerous position. It was prayer—the prayer of apostolic men, which never fails to be heard. Hardly had their supplications been ended, when there appeared on the opposite bank an indefinable object moving slowly along. Thinking it might be a man, Father Junipero cried out at the top of his voice, and was presently answered by a venerable Spaniard, who, after conducting them to a part of the river where they were enabled to cross, led them to his house at some distance, and carefully provided for them during the night. On questioning their benefactor next morning why he had been there at that particular hour, the only answer they could obtain from him was that he had gone there in haste, and that there was no necessity of inquiring too minutely into the matter.

On another occasion they experienced the protection of God in an equally remarkable manner.

After passing the night at a village, they received, on their departure, from the chief of the place, a portion of bread as an alms. They had not gone very far when they encountered a beggar ; and, though prudence might have dictated the propriety of retaining for themselves the little they had, they gave the whole of the loaf as an alms to the pauper, and went on their way, trusting in the protection of Heaven. Towards evening, after traveling all day without meeting a dwelling, or being able to procure any food, they became exceedingly weak and exhausted. Thereupon they encountered a traveler, who, upon inquiring into their state, and the object of their journey, presented them with a loaf of unusual excellence, which he divided between them. In subsequent years, when exhorting his people to confidence in God, the venerable Father would instance such cases as these, which he affirmed were not the result of mere chance, but a part of the economy of divine Providence in providing for the wants of His servants.

After a toilsome, painful journey of fifteen hundred miles, the whole traveled on foot, they finally arrived at the city of Mexico, on the first of January, 1750. The Father's first care, on entering the convent of the order, was to return thanks to the Almighty for his safe and prosperous journey. During the six months he spent here with his brethren, he remained chiefly in the capacity of

a novice, preparing himself for the great work on which he was about to embark.

Six years before his arrival, an attempt had been made and not without profit, to bring the numerous wandering tribes of the great territory of the Sierra Gorda to a knowledge of the truth. This extensive, uncultivated region, having to the south the city of Queretaro, extended northward about three hundred miles, with an average breadth of one hundred or more. It was inhabited by a large gentile population, to whom the gospel had never been preached. The Dominicans and Augustinians had founded missions on its borders, but had never penetrated into the interior. By a royal warrant, issued in 1744, its reduction was entrusted to the Franciscans; in accordance with which, an expedition was undertaken and five missions established at that period. The rules by which they were to be governed were chiefly as follows: Every morning at sunrise the people were to assemble in church for morning prayer, mass and instructions. At evening the same rule was to be observed, excepting, of course, the holy sacrifice of the altar. On Sunday, no one was to be absent without cause from the regular service, at which a homily on the gospel, or on some of the principal mysteries of religion was to be given. The more intelligent and better instructed were to be exhorted to a frequent reception of the sacraments. The regulation respecting temporal mat-

ters enjoined on the Fathers the production of grain and the raising of herds, in order to meet the necessary wants of the people. By the laborious and untiring exertions of the Religious, a population of some four or five thousand soon settled down at the missions. Such was the place destined by Providence for the first missionary labors of Father Junipero Serra, the Apostle of Upper California.

In obedience to the commands of his superiors, at the beginning of June, 1750, in company with his friend and future biographer, Father Francis Palou, he set out from the college of St. Fernando, in Mexico, to take charge of one of the recently established missions in the territory above-named. The flock entrusted to his care consisted of neophytes still undergoing instruction, unbelievers and recently converted gentiles, as yet only poorly instructed in the doctrines and observances of the Church. His first and principal care on entering on his duties, was to apply himself to the study of the vernacular; into which, after he had tolerably acquired, he translated the prayers and principal doctrines of religion. These he daily recited for the people, until, by frequent repetitions, they became deeply impressed on their minds, and a spirit of religion created in their hearts. His constant and fervent exhortations wrought such a change in their lives, that many if not most, were brought to confess and communicate on the principal festi-

vals of the year. Like St. Francis of Sales, he himself gave them the example; for it was his custom to confess in presence of the people.

Thus, by word and example, this venerable man gained over the entire of the community, brought them to a frequent reception of the sacraments, and to a deep and earnest sense of religion. Oftentimes in his little congregation, at first not exceeding a thousand, as many as fifty or a hundred would approach the adorable sacrament of the altar on week days, the numbers on Sundays and holidays being proportionately great. For nine years he labored on in this humble position, ever advancing the interests of religion, ever acting the part of the Apostle—by constantly enrolling new subjects in membership with the Church of the Redeemer; until, when recalled at the end of that time, with the view of being placed over the Californian missions, not a gentile was to be found in that immediate section of the country that had not been brought by his prayers, example and exertions to a knowledge of the truth. The actual numbers he converted, and the labors he must have undergone in seeking them out and conquering their savage, stubborn natures, have unhappily never been fully recorded by any of his companions. But, though thus lost to our notice, it is consoling to know that they are unerringly chronicled in the imperishable records of the world above.

The means adopted by this venerable missionary to create and foster a spirit of devotion in the minds of his people, were as manifold and attractive as his love for his Divine Master was strong. Preaching, exhorting, catechizing and confessing were his constant and unwearied employments. Preceding all the principal festivals he had instituted novenas in which all the congregation took part with the view of preparing themselves to celebrate the more worthily the feasts to which they referred. The festivals of our divine Lord and his blessed Mother he especially celebrated with all the pomp and splendor his slender resources enabled him to command, which, though meagre and insignificant compared with those of older and civilized Christian communities, were truly engaging and attractive in the eyes of the natives. On these particular occasions, not content with the usual parochial instructions, he preached twice on the same day. Quadragesima, or the holy season of Lent, was particularly devoted to offices of piety. The entire community entered into the spirit of the time. Every evening all the faithful assembled in the church for the recitation of the holy rosary and other devotional exercises, showing by their general conduct and demeanor how deeply they realized the solemnity of the time. The Fridays were set apart for the celebration of the Stations of the Cross, when the whole people went in solemn procession out of the village,

Father Junipero bearing on his shoulders an enormous cross in memory of the passion of our blessed Redeemer. Passion and Palm Sunday and Holy Week were celebrated with great care and the more remarkable parts in the Passion of the Saviour brought strongly before the minds of the Christians. With such care and attention it was not possible for him to fail in bringing the people to a high standard of virtue.

In obedience to the voice of authority he had now to take leave of this people, and to repair to the capital in order to receive instructions preparatory to his assuming charge of a new mission to be established in the country of the Apaches, the most savage and ferocious of all the barbarous tribes in the Spanish dependencies. It was the will of the Almighty, however, that this mission should not be entrusted to his care; he was employed meantime in the convent of his order at Mexico, where he gave the most edifying proofs of his virtue, being occupied almost continually in giving missions to the people, both in the town and country.

Such was the general character of the man who was placed at the head of the new administration and destined by Providence to be the Apostle of Christianity to the gentile inhabitants of Upper California.

The importance and necessity of forming garisons and establishing colonies along the Califor-

nian coast, had long been an object of much consideration, as we have seen, to the Spanish authorities. The necessity of protecting the eastern trade first demanded the measure; but there was now the additional reason of defending the country against foreign encroachments.

After the conquest of Siberia, toward the middle of the seventeenth century, the Russians appeared for the first time in the Pacific. In 1648, the intrepid navigator, Dejeneff, by sailing between Asia and America, solved the problem of a north-eastern passage, which for a century and more had occupied the public attention in Europe. Three quarters of a century later, the Danish captain, Behring, then in the service of the widow of Peter the Great, passed through the same strait, from whom it has taken its name. From then till 1768, when the Jesuit Fathers took possession of Lower California, various expeditions were forwarded by Russia, with the view of examining the coast and the islands preparatory to making settlements in the country. The previous appearance of Drake, Cavendish and Dampier in these waters, also made it a matter of pressing necessity to take the most precautionary measures. There was, further, the fear that the American people would, before long, rid themselves of British dominion, which would be only the signal for some of the Spanish dependencies detaching themselves from the central authority. With the view, then, of re-

sisting encroachments, and of preserving intact his American possessions, Charles III contemplated forming the different viceroyalties into separate kingdoms, having for their sovereigns members of his own family, subject, however, as suzerains, to himself, who was to enjoy the title of Emperor of the Indies. The vastness of the scheme was worthy of a great and ambitious ruler, and would, if carried into effect, have the result of consolidating the Spanish-American possessions; and by making Madrid the centre of authority, have given to Charles and his successors a power which none of his predecessors ever enjoyed. Time and circumstances prevented the scheme being carried into effect.

As soon as the newly-arrived Fathers had taken possession of the missions and property of Lower California, Father Junipero applied himself to carrying out the wishes of government respecting the reduction of the upper part of the country. It was agreed upon by the viceroy, Don Joseph de Galvez and himself, to establish at the outset three garrisons and missions, as follows: One at San Diego, another at Monterey, and a third at an equal distance between these. The chief objects of the viceroy were the defence of the country and the advancement of the temporal interests of the crown. A little later the garrisons could be extended farther north, and a stronger hold obtained on the country. According to agreement,

two expeditions were formed—one to proceed by land and the other by sea to the port of San Diego, where the first mission was to be established. San Diego, which, as we have mentioned in the first volume, was discovered by the Spanish navigator, Cabrillo, in 1542, and named by him San Miguel, was one of the safest harbors on the coast. The name San Miguel, as we have also remarked, was afterward changed for its present by Admiral Viscaino, who visited it in 1602. It is situated in the thirty-second degree of north latitude, and forms the boundary between Upper and Lower California. A line drawn thence due east would meet the Colorado about its embouchure. During the missionary period, San Diego was the most important station on the northern coast. It was to Upper California what Loretto was to Lower. There was the principal mission, or what in conventual language may be termed the *Maison Mere* of the Fathers. As a port and central position it was well adapted for the purposes intended.

The naval expedition consisted of three corvettes, the St. Charles, the St. Anthony and the St. Joseph, having on board a considerable number of persons, agricultural implements, and everything requisite for forming a colony. The voyage, though only a few hundred miles, took them several months, and proved most disastrous to many. The St. Charles and the St. Anthony lost

several of their men from scurvy and a want of provisions, while the St. Joseph, after putting to sea, was never heard of again.

The land expedition, accompanied by Father Junipero, was divided into two parts, patriarchal fashion, so that if one perished the other might be saved. The first of these arrived at San Diego after a weary march of fifty-four days, and was not joined by the other for a month and a half later. While on the way they founded a mission dedicated to St. Fernandez at a place called Villacata, in Lower California. The circumstances attending the establishment of this mission, the first formed by the Franciscan missionaries since their arrival in the country, are thus described by Father Palou in his life of Father Junipero: "On the day following they commenced the foundations: the venerable Father President being vested with alb and stole, blessed the holy water, and with it the site of the church, and the holy cross, which, being saluted as usual, was planted in front of the church. They named as patron, both for the church and mission, the holy king of Castile and Leon; St. Fernando. Having chaunted the first Mass the President pronounced a most fervent discourse on the descent of the Holy Ghost and the establishment of the mission. The sacrifice of the Mass being concluded the *Veni Creator* was sung, the want of an organ and other musical instruments being supplied by the continual discharge

of the fire-arms during the ceremony, and the want of incense of which they had none by the smoke of the muskets.”¹

The sixteenth of July was appointed for the establishment of the new mission at San Diego, the first in Upper California. Then for the first time the saving symbol of our holy religion was erected on this soil, and measures adopted for the conversion of the inhabitants. The time was in every way suited to the occasion. On that day the Spanish population was celebrating at home the triumph of the cross over the crescent: the memory of the celebrated victory of 1212 over the Moslem power was then brought back to the recollections of all. On that day, too, the entire Catholic Church was keeping one of the many feasts in honor of the glorious Mother of God—the feast of Mount Carmel. So, under the patronage of the great Queen of Heaven, and with the memory laden with the remembrance of the triumph of the symbol of faith, Father Junipero Serra, robed in alb and stole, as on the previous occasion, in presence of all the Christians, both civil and military, solemnly blessed the cross and placed it in a position facing the port, where it was to be the signal of mercy and salvation to all. Then was celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass, which was followed by a discourse proper to the occasion, and thus

(1) See *Palou's Life of Father Junipero Serra*.

was laid the foundation of the first Christian mission in Upper California on the 16th July, 1769.

The following letter, written at this time by Father Junipero to his friend, Father Palou, giving an account of the journey and the general situation of affairs, it is thought, will prove interesting to the reader:

“MY DEAR FRIEND:—Thank God I arrived the day before yesterday, the first of the month at this port of San Diego, truly a fine one, and not without reason called famous. Here I found those who had set out before me, both by sea and land, except those who have died. The brethren, Fathers Crespi, Biscaino, Parron and Gomez are here with myself, and all are quite well, thank God. Here are also the two vessels, but the San Carlos without sailors, all having died of the scurvy, except two. The San Antonio, although she sailed, a month and a half later, arrived twenty days before the San Carlos, losing on the voyage eight sailors. In consequence of this loss it has been resolved that the San Antonio shall return to San Blas to fetch sailors for herself and for the San Carlos.

“The causes of the delay of the San Carlos were: first, lack of water, owing to the casks being bad, which, together with bad water obtained on the coast, occasioned sickness among the crew; and secondly, the error which all were in respecting the situation of this port. They supposed it to be

thirty-three or thirty-four degrees north latitude, some saying one and some the other, and strict orders were given to Captain Villa and the rest to keep out in the open sea till they arrived at the thirty-fourth degree and then to make the shore in search of the port. As, however, the port in reality lies in thirty-two degrees thirty-four minutes, according to the observations that have been made, they went much beyond it, thus making the voyage much longer than was necessary. The people got daily worse from the cold and the bad water, and they must all have perished if they had not discovered the port about the time they did. For they were quite unable to launch the boat to procure more water, or to do anything whatever for their preservation. Father Fernando did everything in his power to assist the sick, and although he arrived much reduced in flesh, he did not become ill, and is now well. We have not suffered hunger or other privations, neither have the Indians who came with us, all arrived well and healthy.

“The tract through which we passed is generally very good land, with plenty of water, and there as well as here the country is neither rocky nor overrun with brushwood. There are, however, many hills, but they are composed of earth. The road has been in some places good, but the greater part bad. About half-way, the valleys and banks of rivulets began to be delightful. We found vines

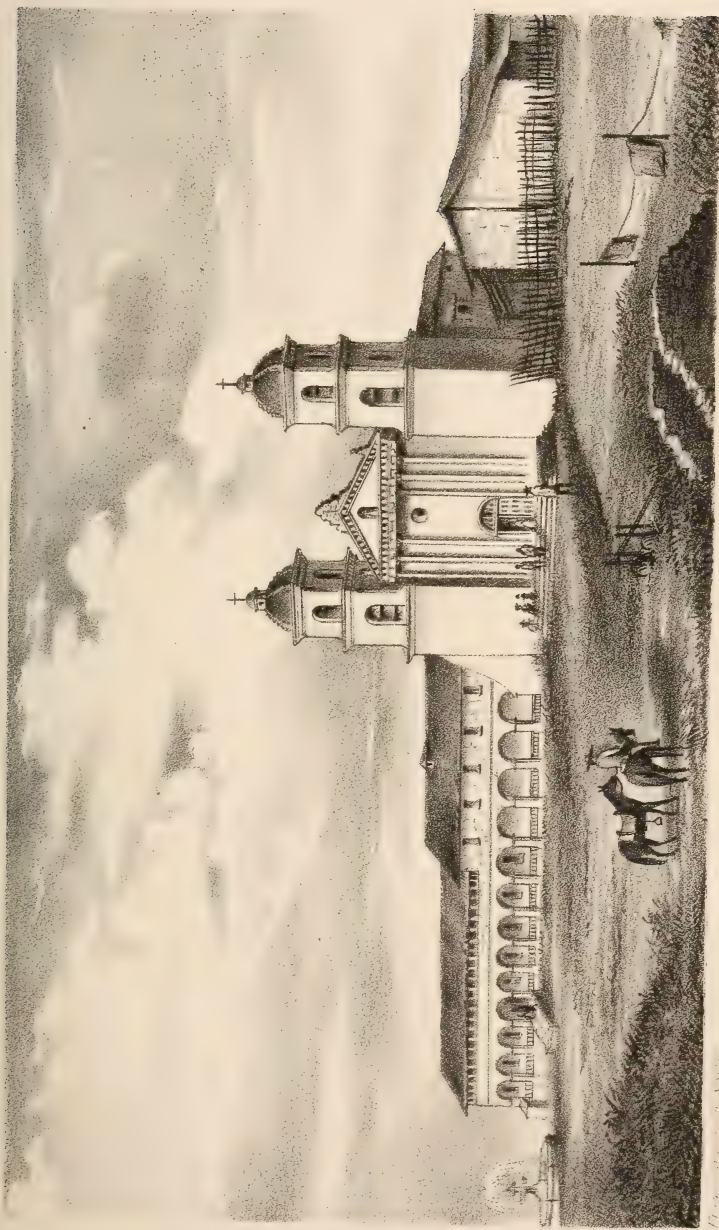
of a large size, and in some cases quite loaded with grapes; we also found an abundance of roses, which appeared to be like those of Castile. In fine, it is a good country, and very different *from old California*.

“ We have seen Indians in immense numbers, and all those on this coast of the Pacific contrive to make a good subsistence on various seeds, and by fishing. The latter they carry on by means of rafts or canoes, made of tule (bullrush) with which they go a great way to sea. They are very civil. All the males, old and young, go naked; the women, however, and the female children, are decently covered from their breasts downward. We found on our journey, as well as in the place where we stopped, that they treated us with as much confidence and good-will as if they had known us all their lives. But when we offered them any of our victuals, they always refused them. All they cared for was cloth, and only for something of this sort would they exchange their fish or whatever else they had. During the whole march we found hares, rabbits, some deer, and a multitude of berendos (a kind of wild goat).

“ I pray God may preserve your health and life many years.

“ From this port and intended mission of San Diego, in North California, third July, 1769.

“ FRANCIS JUNIPERO SERRA.”



Engraved by J. G. ...

View of the ...

Before entering into details respecting the labors of the Fathers, it is proper to make the reader acquainted with the general plan on which the reduction of the country was contemplated. To this end, it is necessary to understand the meaning attached to the terms *presidio*, *castillo*, *pueblo*, and *mission*, by which agencies the country was sought to be brought to a knowledge of religion, and into subjection to the crown. The *presidios*, as may be readily inferred from the name, were the military garrisons established along the coast for the defence of the country and the protection of the missionaries. Being the head-quarters of the military, they became the seats of the local governments of the different presidencies into which the country was divided. They were four in number—San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey and San Francisco. Unique in their general plan, they consisted of adobe¹ walls, twelve or fourteen feet high, enclosing a square of three hundred feet on each side, defended at the angles by small bastions, mounted with eight twelve-pounder bronze cannon. Within were the barracks, the store-houses, the church for the soldiers, commandant's dwelling, etc.

On the outside they were defended by a trench twelve feet wide by six deep, the earth from which was made to serve as an outwork. They were entered by two gates, opened by day and

(1) Sun-dried bricks.

closed at night. The number of soldiers assigned to each was limited to two hundred and fifty, but they were rarely up to that number. From these principal stations, in addition to the duty of guarding the coast, detachments were required to accompany the Fathers when journeying through the country, or engaged in establishing missions. Four or five men and a sergeant were ordinarily detailed for this purpose. A certain number of troops, too, was appointed for every mission, for the purpose of preserving order and defending the Fathers and neophytes from any sudden attack on the part of the gentiles, a precaution not entirely unnecessary, as the subsequent bad faith of the savages abundantly demonstrated. The military composing the garrisons were in the first instance infantry raised on the borders of Sonora. Those were afterwards replaced by cavalry, entitled "*Compañias de cuera*," or leathern companies, so called from their wearing leathern armor. The uniform which was a kind of buckskin dress somewhat resembling a coat of mail, descended to the feet, and was impenetrable to arrows. The horses were also encased in the same, like those of the knights of old.¹ The entire annual cost to the government of these establishments was fifty-five thousand dollars.

The *castillos* were species of covered batteries situated at short distances from the presidios,

(1) See *Exploration de l'Oregon*: par Mons. Duflot de Mofras.

which they were intended to guard. Though manned like the latter with a few guns, they were at best but a feeble defence against a powerful enemy, sufficient, however, for the purpose intended. The *pueblos*, or towns, which were only of subsequent origin, owed their existence in the first instance to the old Creole and Spanish soldiery, who, after retiring from the army, settled down in the country. They were entirely apart from the presidios and missions, but were served by the Fathers from the latter. The lands belonging to them were obtained in grant from the Religious. Induced by the example and success of the first settlers others adopted a similar course, which was followed by others again, till, after a time, the population of the *pueblos* exceeded those of the neighboring missions. There were, however, only three such establishments properly so-called in the whole country—Los Angeles, San José, and Banciforte, near Santa Cruz. They were not subject to the Fathers, but were governed first by the Spanish and afterwards by the Mexican authorities. Each *pueblo* had its *alcalde* or mayor, three *regidores* and a *syndic*, who composed the *Ayuntamiento*, or Town Council.¹

Although, as has been remarked, the population of the *pueblos* exceeded, in some instances, that of the missions, it was still never very great, not exceeding at any time more than a few thou-

(1) See *Dwinelle's Colonial History of San Francisco*.

sands. According to Forbes, the entire mixed and white population of Upper California in 1839 was only five thousand.¹ Besides the pueblos, properly so-called and established in the manner described, there were others of lesser importance which grew up under the protection of the presidios and the missions. In all, then, there were three classes of such settlements—those properly so named: the *presidial pueblos* and the *mission pueblos*. The *rancherias*, or King's lands, were the farms set apart for the use of the troops. They were only used as pasture grounds for the cattle and horses belonging to the soldiers. In fine, the missions were the third and most important part into which the population was divided. Here the natives resided, nor was it given to others to inhabit there except for a very limited time. The object of this wise precautionary rule was to prevent the intercourse of the white and colored population, for it was feared, and not without reason, that the latter would be injured by a communication with the former. Like the presidios, the missions were all constructed on the same general plan, though differing in some instances, according to circumstances, in minor details. They were quadrilateral buildings, two stories high, enclosing a court-yard ornamented with fountains and trees. The whole consisted of the church, Father's apartments, store-houses, barracks, etc. The quadri-

(1) See Forbes' *Hist. Cal.*

lateral sides were each about six hundred feet in length, one of which was partly occupied by the church. Within the quadrangle and corresponding with the second story, was a gallery running round the entire structure and opening upon the work-shops, store-rooms and other apartments.

The entire management of each establishment was under the care of two Religious; the elder attended to the interior and the younger to the exterior administration. One portion of the building, which was called the monastery, was inhabited by the young Indian girls. There, under the care of approved matrons, they were carefully trained and instructed in those branches necessary for their condition in life. They were not permitted to leave till an age to be married, and this with the view of preserving their morality. In the schools, those who exhibited more talent than their companions, were taught vocal and instrumental music, the latter consisting of the flute, horn and violin. In the mechanical departments, too, the most apt were promoted to the position of foremen. The better to preserve the morals of all, none of the whites, except those absolutely necessary, were employed at the mission.

The daily routine at each of the establishments was almost the same as that followed by the Jesuits in Lower California, and of which we have spoken before. At sunrise they arose and proceeded to the church; where, after morning prayer;

they assisted at the holy sacrifice of the Mass. Breakfast next followed, when they proceeded to their respective employments. Toward noon, they returned to the mission, and spent the time from then till two o'clock between dinner and repose; after which, they again repaired to their work, and remained engaged till the evening angelus, about an hour before sundown. All then betook themselves to the church for evening devotions, which consisted of the ordinary family prayers and the rosary, except on special occasions, when other devotional exercises were added. After supper, which immediately followed, they amused themselves in divers sports, games and dancing, till the hour for repose. Their diet, of which the poor of any country might be justly envious, consisted of an abundance of excellent beef and mutton, with vegetables in the season. Wheaten cakes and puddings, or porridges called "atole and pinole," also formed a portion of the repast. The dress was, for the males, linen shirts, pants, and a blanket to be used as an overcoat. The women received each, annually, two undergarments, a gown and a blanket. In years of plenty, after the missions became rich, the Fathers distributed all the surplus moneys among them in clothing and trinkets. Such was the general character of the early missions established in Upper California by the disciples of St. Francis.

CHAPTER II.

EXPEDITION TO MONTEREY.—DISCOVERY OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY.—
THE CHRISTIANS AT SAN DIEGO ATTACKED BY THE NATIVES.—FIRST
BAPTISM.—SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS.—PROPITIOUS ARRIVAL OF SUP-
PLIES.—LETTER OF FATHER JUNIPERO.—SINGULAR OCCURENCE.
—ARRIVAL OF MISSIONARIES.—LOWER CALIFORNIA GIVEN TO THE
DOMINICANS.—FATHER JUNIPERO GOES TO MEXICO.

THE description given in the foregoing chapter applies only to the main buildings of the missions. The Indians lived in little thatched huts grouped around, a couple of hundred yards from the principal edifice. These huts were usually made of adobe, but in some instances, in the earlier stages of the missions, they were constructed of rough poles, erected in a conical shape and thatched with grass. The former, when tiled and whitewashed, as was sometimes the case, presented a neat and comfortable appearance. Here the married Indians resided with their families; the unmarried of both sexes being kept apart in large apartments in the main building, under strict supervision. A walled enclosure was drawn round some of the establishments, but others were devoid of such protection. A tract of land about fifteen miles square was assigned to each, a portion of which was put under cultivation, and the surplus used for pasturage.

As there were no claimants to dispute the Fathers' rights, the herds, some of which numbered as many as thirty thousand, fed over a great range of country, in fact, as much as they pleased. The true limits of the mission lands appear to have been the equi-distances between the establishments, which, ordinarily, were not more than twenty or thirty miles apart. A difficulty afterward arose respecting the right of the Religious and their communities to these lands. The Fathers maintained that they belonged to the missions, and had been given by government to them; but when the question of secularization came up, the civil authorities maintained that they had been only given on trust for agricultural purposes, remaining, at the same time, the property of the nation, and, consequently, subject at all times to a change of hands under the provisions of the colonization laws. The grounds on which this opinion was founded were, that the missions were never intended to be permanent establishments; that the Fathers were only the pioneer clergy, to be followed by a secular body, to whom the care of the people should be entrusted, when the missions would assume the title and privileges of pueblos. Such, at least, was the interpretation of the Mexican and American judicial authorities. Passing judgment in the case of his grace, the Most Rev. Dr. Alemany, whose claim to the churches and appurtenances of the old missions had been brought

before the courts, Judge Flech, of the Californian Board of Land Commissioners, says: "The missions were intended from the beginning to be temporary in their character. It was contemplated that in ten years from their first foundation they should cease. It was supposed that within that period the Indians would be sufficiently instructed in Christianity and the arts of civilized life, to assume the position and character of citizens; that the mission settlements would then become pueblos, and that the mission churches would become parish churches, organized like the other establishments of an ecclesiastical character in other portions of the nation where no missions had ever existed."

From this the reader will learn to distinguish between the terms mission and mission lands. The former, which included the houses, vineyards and orchards in the immediate vicinity of the churches, comprised also the cattle belonging to the Religious; while the lands of which we have spoken as being assigned for grazing and agricultural purposes, were said to be held only in fief, and were afterwards claimed as government property against the voice and remonstrance of the Fathers. How far the civil authorities were justified in claiming these lands on the grounds stated we shall see further on, when we come to treat of the secularization of the missions.

On the fourteenth of July two days before the

establishment of the new mission of San Diego, an expedition, commanded by Don Gaspar Portala, according to instructions from the governor, set out by land to discover and settle the port of Monterey, so called after Viscaino, count of that name, who visited it in 1603. The expedition was composed of the commandant, three officers, one sergeant, the Fathers Juan Crespi and Francisco Gomez, with twenty-six soldiers, seven muleteers, and fifteen Indians of Lower California, making in all a total of fifty-five Europeans and Indians. There remained only at San Diego the Father President, two missionaries and eight soldiers as a guard. From one cause or another, they did not find the port they were in search of, or, if they did, failed to recognize it as such. They were, however, well compensated by the discovery of another of still greater dimensions, and which was destined in after ages to become the greatest commercial port of the Pacific. Judging from the way they were led thither, one might, without exposing himself to the charge of credulity, trace therein the directing providence of God. When treating about the establishment of the missions, before leaving Lower California, the titles of which were assigned by the viceroy on the part of the government, Father Junipero represented to his excellency that the name of St. Francis, the great founder of the order, did not occur among the number. To this the visitador replied, that if

St. Francis desired a mission, he should point out a place for it. “Si San Francisco quière mission, que haga se halle su puerto, y se le pondrà.” According to the instructions received, the expedition set out on the date above mentioned, but not recognizing the port of Monterey, as has been remarked, they continued their journey with the same object, when at the distance of forty leagues further on, they came to a magnificent bay, to which they concluded the providence of God had conducted them in honor of the Saint, and they accordingly agreed to name it after the illustrious man—hence the name San Francisco.

It may here occur to the reader to inquire whether this was the first time the bay of San Francisco was visited by Europeans, and whether its discovery is to be exclusively attributed to the Religious. Touching this question, there has been hitherto considerable doubt, many believing it to have been first visited by an Englishman, in the person of Drake, in 1599. From recent investigation, however, there are no longer any reasonable grounds to assign its discovery to any but the Religious. That none of the early Portuguese captains, despatched by the government for the purpose of examining the coast, knew of its existence, though some of them passed it on their voyage, is freely admitted by all. The opinion of those who attribute it to Drake, has been founded on a passage in the chronicle of Fletcher, as quoted by Pinkerton.

After passing the Strait of Magellan, in the year above mentioned, Drake continued his voyage along the coast, plundering as he went on; but fearful of falling in with the Spaniards if he returned by the Horn, he determined pursuing a western course, and thus returning to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Disappointed in this, by reason of contrary winds, he descended the coast from the forty-third to the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, where he cast anchor, and took possession of that part of the country in his sovereign's name, giving it the title of "New Albion." "Being got into forty-three degrees north latitude," says Fletcher, "they found it intolerably cold, upon which they steered southward, till they got into the thirty-eighth degree north latitude, where they discovered a country which, from its white cliffs, they called New Albion, though it is now known by the name of California. They here discovered a bay, which entering with a favorable gale, they found several huts by the water side, well defended from the severity of the weather."

From this it has been concluded that the bay discovered by the missionaries was the same as that entered by Drake. For a time this seems to have been the popular belief, but at present it is almost universally discredited, the ablest and most accurate writers holding the contrary opinion. "This port—San Francisco," writes Humboldt, "is frequently confounded by geographers with

Port Drake, further north under the thirty-eight degrees ten minutes of latitude, called by the Spaniards Puerto de Bodega." "He—Drake," says De Mofras, "cast anchor in Port Reyes, situated between San Francisco and Bodega." Though there is a discrepancy in these statements, one making Bodega the same as Port Drake, and the other representing them as different bays, there is yet a coincidence regarding the question at issue. Forbes is of opinion that Drake did not descend as far as California proper at all, though it is difficult to understand how he could have made such a statement had he been acquainted with Fletcher's account.¹ More modern writers still are of the same opinion.² The grounds on which these writers formed their conclusions are, that if Drake really entered the bay Fletcher would have given a better and fuller description of it. It is hardly to be supposed that such a man would have failed to note its chief characteristics—its great extent, depth of water and security against storms. On the other hand, the accounts furnished coincide rather with the harbor of Bodega, the coast and cliffs there resembling those of Brighton and Dover, a circumstance which might have led to the country being named New Albion. But stronger than this, and, indeed, all but absolutely conclusive, was the tradition derived from the

(1) See *Forbes' Hist. Cal.*: p. 80.

(2) *Annals of San Francisco*: p. 33.

early Spaniards, that the place where the English commander landed was not the bay of San Francisco, but another part of the coast. There are, then, most reasonable grounds for believing that Drake did not enter the Golden Gate. Anyhow, until something more than mere conjecture can be advanced, the honor of being the discoverers of San Francisco Bay must be allowed to the pioneer Catholic missionaries, who, with the view of establishing Christianity in the country, arrived here in the year 1769.

The expedition commanded by Portala returned to San Diego on the twenty-fourth January, 1770, being absent six months and eight days. While the party was away the Father President and his companions were in the greatest danger from the bad faith of the Indians. As in the case of the Jesuit Fathers, on their first arrival in the country, the natives, thwarted in their desire of obtaining all the articles they coveted, determined to get rid of the Christians for the sake of their goods. What excited their avarice was not so much the articles of provision, as in the case of the Jesuits, but rather the clothing and covering of every description. At first they proceeded with caution, pilfering only by night, but afterwards more openly, trusting to their numbers and strength, when finally they resolved to get possession of all by killing the Father and his companions. This they attempted to do on the twelfth and thirteenth of

August, but without avail. A perilous position, indeed, it was for the little band—ten or a dozen persons, without a fort, barricade or other means of defence save what a few hastily erected huts could afford, and surrounded at the same time by hundreds of infuriated savages eagerly bent on their destruction, and armed with bows and arrows, spears, clubs and stones. The interposition of Heaven alone seemed capable of saving them in the emergency.

On the 15th of the month, two days after the first attack had been made, the Indians in great numbers fell on the mission and began plundering everything that came in their way. The soldiers were immediately put under arms, when the savages retired to a distance and began shooting their arrows. The firing was kept up with vigor on both sides for a considerable time, till the enemy retired, having lost several in killed and wounded; the loss on the part of the Christians being only one killed and four wounded. The result of this engagement proved entirely different from what might have been expected. Instead of either entirely abandoning the place and retiring to the mountains, or of reinforcing their numbers and making a fresh attack on the Christians, they returned with peaceful dispositions, begging the wounded to be cared for, and evincing in their manner a certain salutary fear and respect, which the recent defeat had created in their minds.

Matters having thus assumed a favorable turn, and the natives being brought to a better disposition, Father Junipero took the first steps toward the great work of conversion. So ardently was he inflamed with the desire of gaining the people to Christ, that every day seemed to him an age till he made his first conquest among them. Of those who frequented the mission was a youth of tender years and good disposition. Him the Father made use of to obtain his first subject for baptism. Having informed him of the importance of the sacrament and advantages resulting therefrom, he urged him to go among his own and obtain the consent of some of the parents for the baptism of their infants. The boy, either with the view of pleasing the Father, or from a holier motive, proceeded to the execution of his commission, and before long reappeared, accompanied by a number of his kinsmen and a child, whose parents gave the missionary to understand it was their wish it should be baptized. The Father's gratification at this prosperous issue was unbounded. Now he was to reap the first fruit of his labors; now the first conquest was to be made among the children of error. Full of this holy and pious idea he ordered the babe to be clad, and invited the soldiers and civilians to be present at the ceremony. The preliminary rites were gone through to the great joy and edification of all; already the moment had arrived when the little one was to be enrolled

among the number of the faithful, when lo, as the Father was about to pour the water on its head, the Indians, prompted no doubt by the suggestion of the evil one, grabbed eagerly at the child, tore it from the hands of the god-father and rushed precipitately away! So great was the sorrow that the venerable missionary felt at this unexpected result that for several days grief was visible in his countenance, and his humility was such that he attributed the conduct of the natives as a punishment from God upon himself for his sins. Even in subsequent years, when relating the circumstance, the tears would come to his eyes, but however sorely he may have felt the disappointment, the loss was afterward amply rewarded, for, by his subsequent labors, he gained over to Christ at this mission as many as one thousand and forty-six souls.

The same dangers that threatened the first missionaries on their arrival in Lower California, stood in the way of their successors in this part of the country. On the return of the expedition, after the discovery of the bay of San Francisco, it was found that the supply of provisions on hand was insufficient for more than a couple of weeks. It was also but too plain to be seen that the country was unable to afford the necessary means of subsistence; hence they were necessitated to rely on the arrival of the vessel dispatched to the coast of New Spain for additional pro-

visions. But, as the vessel was absent more than double the time required for performing the voyage, it seemed to the governor that little or no hope could be entertained of her safety. He accordingly informed the Fathers that unless she appeared by the twentieth of March (the feast of St. Joseph, the patron of the missions), he would embark the entire expedition, abandon the country, and return to Old California. This resolution afflicted the president exceedingly; for in it, if carried out, he saw the frustration of all his designs; the loss to the country of the blessings of religion, and the triumph, for the time, of the powers of darkness. Another generation might pass before a similar effort would be made for the salvation of the people; obstacles of a more formidable nature, meantime, might arise, while to retire at that particular moment, would exhibit a weakness and indifference unworthy alike of the Christian and the minister of religion. But under the circumstances, what was to be done? As far as he himself was personally concerned, he was determined to remain, and to trust to divine Providence for his support and protection; but to retain the expedition was his principal concern. For this, one only means seemed capable of success—holy and fervent prayer, by which such innumerable triumphs have been gained by the faithful in every age.

While others, then, having given up all hope of

the safe arrival of the vessel, occupied themselves about their return, little else having been spoken of in the camp since the governor had given his orders, Father Junipero and his brother Religious devoted themselves ardently to prayer, beseeching the Almighty to come to their aid and prevent the return of the expedition. A certain conviction was ever present to his mind that God would not abandon them at that critical moment. Day by day, however, their anxiety increased, as no trace of the vessel appeared. The first and a part of the second week of March had come and gone without the expected aid. A few days more and all would be turning their faces from that part of the country. A thought occurred to the Father. Through St. Joseph, the protector of the missions, their petitions would surely find acceptance with God. A novena was accordingly begun, to be concluded on the twentieth of March, the day fixed for departure. Eight days pass and the result is the same. On the nineteenth and last day of the exercises, they renew, with fervor, their supplications to the throne of grace; the Mass of St. Joseph is celebrated with all the solemnity their circumstances permit; and behold! that evening, before the summer sun went down beyond the distant hills, the long, long-wished for vessel hove in view! Who is there that does not recognize in this the hand and providence of God? On that day the novena was ended, and on that day the

vessel appeared. The unbeliever, no doubt, may attribute it to chance or accident; but the Christian, who knows the meaning of the Redeemer's words: "Ask, and you shall receive," will attribute it to its legitimate cause. The joy this event brought to the heart of the Father, may be better imagined than described. In it he recognized the special protection of Heaven, and in gratitude therefor he resolved to celebrate annually a Mass to St. Joseph in commemoration of the occurrence.

The San Antonio having brought a large stock of provisions, arrangements were now made for undertaking anew another expedition to the port of Monterey. Like the first to San Diego, it was divided into two parts, one to proceed by sea and the other by land. Both started about the middle of April, but did not arrive before the end of May, the naval part of the expedition being six-and-forty days on the voyage, which now can be made in less than a tenth of the time. Subjoined is the account furnished by Father Junipero on his taking possession of the place. Writing to his friend and companion, Father Palou, he says:

"MY DEAREST FRIEND—On the thirty-first day of May, by the favor of God, after rather a painful voyage of a month and a half, this packet 'San Antonio,' commanded by Don Juan Perez, arrived and anchored in this port of Monterey, which is unaltered in any degree from what it was when

visited by the expedition of Don Sebastian Viscaïno, in the year 1603. It gave me great consolation to find that the land expedition had arrived eight days before us, and that Father Crespi and all others were in good health. On the third of June, being the holy day of Pentecost, all the naval and land officers, and the people assembled on a bank at the foot of an oak, where we caused an altar to be erected, and the bells to be rung. We then chanted the *Veni Creator*, blessed the water, erected and blessed a grand cross, hoisted the royal standard, and sang the first Mass that ever was celebrated in this place. We afterward sang the *Salve Regina* before an image of the Virgin, and concluded the whole with a *Te Deum*. After this, the officers took possession of the country in the name of the king. We then all dined together in a shady place on the beach; the whole ceremony being accompanied by many volleys and salutes by the troops and vessels," etc.

He then goes on to express his solicitude about matters immediately connected with religion: "As it is a whole year since I received any letter from a Christian country, your reverence may suppose in what want we are of news; but, for all that, I only ask you when you can get an opportunity to inform me what the most holy Father, the reigning Pope, is called, that I may put his name in the canon of the mass; also, to say if the canonization of the beatified Joseph Cupertino

and Serafino Asculi has taken place ; and if there is any other beatified one, or Saint, in order that I may put them in the calendar, and pray to them, we having, it would appear, taken our leave of all printed calendars. Tell me, also, if it is true that the Indians have killed Father Joseph Saler, in Sonora, and how it happened ; and if there are any other friends defunct, in order that I may commend them to God ; with anything else that your reverence may think fit to communicate to a few poor hermits, separated from human society. We proceed to-morrow to celebrate the feast and make the procession of Corpus Christi, (although in a very poor manner,) in order to scare away whatever little devils there possibly may be in this land.

“FR. JUNIPERO SERRA.”

After the ceremonies of taking possession of the port had been ended, the Father applied himself to the establishment of the mission. For a time, his object seemed in a measure defeated, for the Indians who had been present at the commencement of the ceremony became so alarmed on hearing the repeated volleys of musketry, that they all, without an exception, hastily withdrew and hid themselves through fear in the mountains. After a little they reappeared and returned to the mission, to the great joy and consolation of the Father. It was not, however, for several months from his landing that he was able to effect any conversions among them. This should not be a matter of sur-

prise, when we remember the utterly savage and barbarous condition of the people, their disinclination to lead a regular life, and the difficulties of instructing them in the elementary truths of religion. But even here the zeal and indefatigable labors of the Father were equal to the emergency. On the twenty-sixth December, while the memory was still fresh with the recollection of the ineffable goodness of God in becoming man for our sakes, the first solemn baptism was performed by the Religious at the mission of Monterey. Once a beginning made, things took a more favorable turn. The number of Christians and neophytes began rapidly to increase; believers were added to the church by tens and by twenties, till at the end of the third year from the date of their arrival, as many as one hundred and seventy-five of the natives had been received among the number of the faithful.

That the Indians of this locality were brought to a knowledge of the truth by special graces from God, the following would seem to be a proof: On the arrival of the second expedition at the port of Monterey, Father Crespi and his companions found the cross erected by their predecessors surrounded by darts, rods and feathers stuck in the ground, the work, evidently, of the natives. On one side of the sacred symbol was a string of little fish suspended from a pole, while at its foot lay a quantity of mussels and a morsel of flesh. The strangeness of the circumstance naturally attracted the at-

tention of the missionaries, and led them to inquire into the cause. The account received from the natives was to the effect that the first time they noticed the cross on the strand it was surrounded by a bright, luminous light, which, in a manner, changed night into day, and seemed to rise upwards to the heavens. At this unusual sight they were exceedingly alarmed, but as it resumed its natural appearance by day they were emboldened to approach and examine it; and, in order to propitiate it in their interest and save themselves from harm, they made it the food-offerings noticed. But seeing that it did not make use of them, they offered their plumage and arrows as an indication of their willingness of maintaining with it a peace, as also with those who planted it there. Such was the account given by several Indians, and at different times, so that there does not seem to be any grounds for doubting the reality of the vision.

It is, indeed, by no means improbable that the Almighty might have made use of this means to draw this poor people to a knowledge of the truth; for as they were partly incapable of reasoning on matters of religion by reason of the dullness of their understanding, a miracle of this nature may have been offered to incline them thereto. It was thus, under somewhat similar circumstances, that Christianity first found favor with the great, for, until the time that the cross appeared in the heavens to the conqueror of Maxentius, the relig-

ion of Christ was proscribed through the entire of the civilized world.

As soon as Father Junipero found himself at liberty, after erecting the necessary buildings at the mission, he set out to examine the country in every direction in the immediate vicinity of the port. Having found in his travels several places adapted for missions, he immediately forwarded an account to the authorities in Mexico, begging them to come to his aid with an additional number of clergy. To the honor of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, it must be acknowledged that they immediately attended to his request; and, as Providence would seem to have provided for the occasion, several Fathers having then just arrived from Old Spain, as many as thirty were shortly on their way, twenty for Lower and ten for Upper California. They embarked at San Blas in the San Antonio and San Carlos, in the months of January and February, 1771. The first, with the missionaries for Upper California, arrived at San Diego on the twelfth of March, after a tedious voyage of sixty-eight days, during which all became affected with scurvy. How strange that in those days it never occurred to the authorities to have taken any precautionary measures against this fearful distemper. In almost every voyage of more than ordinary length they appear to have suffered, more or less, from its effects. From San Diego they proceeded in the same vessel, on the tenth of April,

to the port of Monterey, their final destination preparatory to taking charge of the new stations. The other vessel, the *San Carlos*, with the missionaries for Lower California, was most singularly unfortunate; she met with a continued series of disasters. Shortly after putting to sea she encountered a continuance of contrary winds and currents, which drove her from her course, and carried her in a southerly direction as far down as Acapulco, several leagues to the south of San Blas. Here the captain might have anchored and waited a more favorable moment for sailing, but from some fatality special to the *San Carlos* he allowed himself to be carried still further to the south till he arrived at Manzanillo, where, unfortunately, he ran ashore, to the great injury of the vessel. The missionaries, thus finding themselves cast upon a barren, inhospitable land, and seeing little or no prospect of the vessel being speedily repaired, formed the resolution of proceeding on foot to the coast opposite Loretto, a distance of eighteen hundred miles, which they eventually accomplished with the loss of only one of their number. The dangers and hardships they must have undergone on that perilous journey, may be easily imagined by remembering that the entire distance had to be performed along a coast remarkable for its insalubrity—abounding in dangers and destitute of roads, inhabitants and provisions of every kind.

The arrival of the first missionaries at the port

of Monterey, in Upper California, brought the greatest consolation to the heart of Father Junipero. The object of his most earnest desires, the conversion of the savages, seemed now in a fair way to be attained. Heaven appeared to be smiling upon his efforts; and whatever troubles or difficulties he may have had to encounter before, were now quickly forgotten in the company of so many virtuous, saintly associates, come to labor for the salvation of the people. Not to lose an opportunity so favorable, before the newly-arrived missionaries separated for their respective positions, he took occasion to celebrate the solemn festival of Corpus Christi, with all the pomp and solemnity the circumstances of the time would permit. A solemn High Mass, consisting of the celebrant, deacon and sub-deacon, with a sermon and a procession of the most adorable sacrament, formed the principal part of the religious celebration. A more touching and edifying spectacle it would be hard to conceive. A number of venerable men, inflamed with the most ardent love of the Lord, assembled on a foreign shore, and celebrating the divine mysteries preparatory to their going forth as heralds of the gospel to a people who had never learned the first rudiments of religion! This was indeed a scene worthy of religion and deserving of the age.

The remarkable success of the Fathers up to this date, in establishing themselves in the upper

and lower part of the peninsula, and the favorable accounts they forwarded to the authorities in Mexico of the dispositions of the natives, excited the zeal and holy ambition of another body of Religious, whose ardor for the salvation of souls, made them desirous of sharing in the work of conversion. At the beginning of 1772, the Dominican Fathers at Mexico obtained from the court of Madrid a royal warrant, by which the Franciscans were requested to make over to them one or more of the missions in Lower California. The object of government was to give each of the orders a field for its labors, and a share in the conversions of the savages. As the introduction, however, of a different element, was likely to be attended with danger to religion, in case the members of different orders were employed in the same part of the vineyard, it seemed more advisable to the Franciscan authorities to offer their brother Religious, the Dominicans, the whole of their charge in Lower California. As for themselves, they would retire to the upper part of the country, and there labor for the same end. The proposition was favorably received and ratified by the viceroy in a council held for the purpose, on the thirtieth of April of that year. In May of the subsequent year the Dominicans departed from Mexico and took charge of the missions, while the Franciscans retired into Upper California, where, concentrating their force, they quickly produced

the most remarkable results in the reduction of the country and the conversion of the natives.

During the time that negotiations were pending for the tradition of the missions to the Dominican Fathers, Father Junipero was not idle in carrying out the object of his mission. After the celebration of the solemn festival mentioned before, accompanied by a number of his Religious and an escort of soldiers, he proceeded to establish an additional mission, to be dedicated to St. Antony of Padua, in the mountains of St. Lucy. The ceremonies attending the establishment of this mission, being the same as have been related before, are known to the reader. The success of the missionaries here was all that might be reasonably expected. At the end of a couple of years, one hundred and fifty-eight persons had been received into the Church. This number may appear only trifling to some; but considering the sparsely populated character of the country, and that only some hundreds inhabited those special localities, the success of the Religious must be regarded as eminently satisfactory. Fifteen days after the establishment of this mission, Father Junipero returned to Monterey, and while waiting to set out for the establishment of the mission of St. Louis, occupied himself in changing the site of the St. Carlos to a more favorable position. As soon as the necessary buildings could be erected, he transported there the

neophytes and cattle, and made it the headquarters for himself, never leaving it till the time of his death, except when engaged in establishing or visiting other establishments. At the same time, conformably to his orders, the mission of San Gabriel was founded by Fathers Cambon and Somera, to the north of San Diego. In connection with its establishment is a circumstance deserving of notice. Upon proceeding to the locality where they intended forming the mission, they encountered a number of Indians, who, by their gestures, shouting and general appearance, seemed determined to oppose them in their work. Seeing that the people were armed and headed by a couple of chiefs, apparently ready to lead them to battle, one of the Fathers, in order to appease the anger of the multitude, exhibited a banner with the image of Our Lady of Dolours upon it; whereupon the clamor of the savages subsided, and the leaders, throwing their arms aside, came forward on the part of the people, and signified their desire to be at peace with the Christians. An account of the Father's arrival and the circumstances attending it having spread through the country, great numbers of people were attracted to his presence, and thus, under the most favorable auspices, the mission was begun. The following letter, written at this date, will give the reader an idea of the missionaries' position:

“MY DEAR FRIEND—Thanks be to God, I am in good health and suffer little from want. There is

no fear of being obliged to abandon any of the missions now established. The milk of the cows and the garden vegetables have been two great sources of subsistence; these, however, now begin to grow scarce. But of this I do not complain—but rather that we have not been able to go on with new missions. All of us feel the vexatious troubles and obstacles which we have to encounter, yet no one thinks of leaving the mission.

“Our greatest consolation is the knowledge that from Monterey, San Antonio and San Diego, there are numerous souls in Heaven. From San Gabriel there are none as yet, but among those Indians there are many who praise God, and whose holy name is in their mouths more frequently than in those of many old Christians. There are, however, those who think that from lambs they will become tigers. This may be so if God permits it, but after three years experience with those of Monterey, and two with those of San Antonio, they appear to us better every day. If all are not already Christian, it is in my opinion only owing to our unacquaintance with the language. This is a trouble which is not new to me, and I have always imagined that my sins have not permitted me to possess this faculty of learning strange tongues, which is a great misfortune in a country such as this, where no interpreter or master of languages can be had until some of the natives learn Spanish, which requires a long time. At

San Diego they have already overcome this difficulty. They now baptize adults and celebrate marriages, and we are here approximating the same point; we have begun to explain to the youth in Spanish, and if they could return us a little assistance in another way, we should in a short time care little about the arrival of the vessels, as far as respects provisions; but as affairs stand at present the missions cannot much advance. Upon the whole, I confide in God, who must remedy all." He then goes on to beg an additional number of missionaries, and concludes by saying: "Let those who come here come well provided with patience and charity, and let them possess a good humor, for they may become rich—I mean in troubles; but where will the laboring ox go where he must not draw the plough? and if he do not draw the plough, how can there be a harvest? May God preserve you for many years in his love and grace.—Mission of St. Charles, Monterey, 18th August, 1772. FR. JUNIPERO SERRA."

From the foregoing the reader may observe that the position of the Fathers at this time was not entirely what might be desired. Independent of the other obstacles which retarded their progress the difficulty of acquiring the language seems to have been a peculiar embarrassment, but this they eventually conquered. Three years had now elapsed since they first landed in the country, and the result of their labors had been the establish-

ment, in Upper California, of the four missions of San Diego, San Carlos at Monterey, San Antonio and San Gabriel. As this, however, was only a beginning, and in no way sufficient to meet the exigencies of the time, Fr. Junipero started for Mexico for an additional number of Fathers, in order to carry the light of the gospel to every part of the country. So ardent and devoted to the cause of religion was this venerable man, that he knew not what it was to repose as long as there was a single unbeliever in the country. On his way he founded the mission of San Luis Obispo, which afterwards became a very flourishing place, with a native population of over twelve hundred souls. From San Diego he took shipping on the twentieth of October, and arrived at the city of Mexico on the sixth of the following February. In the journey from the coast to the capital his life was placed in the most imminent danger from an attack of malignant fever, but, by the mercy and providence of God, his days were prolonged for the good of his people. Before his arrival it had been resolved upon by the viceroy, Señor Bucarelli, to break up and abandon the port of San Blas, a resolution, which, if carried into effect, would have embarrassed the Fathers exceedingly, and endangered the existence of the missions, as that was the only route by which a direct communication could be kept up with the province and the necessary provisions obtained. Upon the representation of

the Father regarding the necessity of retaining the port as a means of communication, the viceroy altered his resolution—continued the establishment, and commanded a frigate to be built for the purpose of examining the coast. Meantime a vessel, freighted with provisions, was despatched to the aid of the newly-formed missions, but, as usual, she met with a mishap—became disabled at sea, and had to put into Loretto—thereby causing a delay which well nigh resulted in the death by starvation of the missionaries and those entrusted to their care, for when afterward relieved it was found that their provisions had long been expended, and that for several months they had been necessitated to live exclusively on milk and nuts.

Upon the determination of the viceroy regarding the continuance of the establishment at the port above-named, the vessel with the provisions for the newly-established missions having been dispatched, Father Junipero directed his attention to the chief object of his visit.

In a petition drawn up for the occasion, he laid before his excellency a statement of the requirements under which the mission was then laboring, and which, if attended to, would serve to promote the best interests of government and religion. The petition was referred to a council called for the object, all the members of which, it is agreeable to think, were unanimous in its favor, and even granted more than was asked for by the Fa-

ther. In the first place, the number of troops in the country was increased, in order to provide against any sudden attack on the part of the natives, whose fickleness of character made their loyalty a matter of the greatest uncertainty. Secondly, the presidios of San Diego, Santa Barbara and San Francisco, were ordered to be immediately begun. It was also commanded that each mission then formed, or afterwards to be established, should be supplied with a number of servants, to be paid from the royal exchequer. In fine, as the fate of the vessels sailing in the interests of the missions was seen to be one of the greatest uncertainty, it was deemed prudent to try and open a communication by land at the head of the gulf, with Sonora, and thus avoid the dangers and perils to which the vessels were almost constantly exposed, and by which the very existence of the missions was oftentimes hazarded. The points of communication were the presidio of Tubac, on the frontiers of Sonora, and the port of Monterey, *via* the Gila and Colorado. The command of the expedition was entrusted to captain John Baptista Anza, who successfully performed the journey, and established the feasibility of the project.

Everything being now favorably adjusted according to the wishes of the Father, he set out from the city of Mexico in the autumn of 1773, having in his company several missionaries, offi-

cers and soldiers, and well supplied with a large stock of provisions, amounting in value to the considerable sum of twelve thousand dollars. On the twenty-fourth of January they embarked at San Blas for the port of Monterey; but, as usual, were unable to accomplish the voyage at once, and had to put into the harbor of San Diego. From here some of the Religious proceeded to their destination by sea, while Father Junipero, with a few faithful companions, preferred proceeding by land, with the view of visiting the missions. On his way he encountered the expedition commanded by Anza on their return to Sonora, by whom he was informed of the practicability of forming the communication contemplated. This, while it caused him the greatest satisfaction, was followed by the unpleasant announcement that the Christians at Monterey were in the greatest extremity for want of the necessary provisions. Thereupon, he hastened with all possible speed to the aid of the sufferers, but found, upon arrival, that the frigate had been ahead of him by a couple of days.

CHAPTER III.

EXPLORING EXPEDITION SENT OUT. — SECOND EXPEDITION. — SEARCH FOR THE NORTHEASTERN PASSAGE. — SUCCESS OF THE MISSIONARIES. — MARTYRDOM OF ONE OF THE RELIGIOUS. — LETTER OF HIS EXCELLENCY BUCARELLI. — RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RUINED MISSION. — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSION OF SAN FRANCISCO.

WITH the view of obtaining further information regarding the country and its inhabitants, an accurate knowledge of the coast being also important, the frigate *Santiago*, which had brought the missionaries to Monterey, was now ordered to proceed on an exploring expedition as far north as was practicable without endangering her safety. Mindful of the promise made by St. Francis, that the sight of his Religious would be sufficient to bring the natives to a knowledge of the truth, his excellency expressed the desire that the expedition should be accompanied by a missionary. In compliance with this, the governor, with Fathers Crespi and Thomas were chosen for the voyage—a position not at all over agreeable, on account of the dangers to which they were exposed from shipwreck and sickness. On the eleventh of June, 1774, they set sail, and proceeded as far north as British Columbia, to the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude, where they put into a bay, which they named *Santa Margarita*, on account of having an-

chored there on the feast of that Saint. Thence they returned to Monterey, carefully registering the coast on the way. As their object was not the establishment of missions, they did not land at any part of the coast; yet they had sufficient opportunities of observing the natives; for, on several occasions, they came out to them in canoes, for the purpose of bartering their wares, which consisted of tastefully wrought baskets, cloaks woven of variegated hair, mats of parti-colored bark interwoven with palm leaves, and conical shaped hats of similar material; all which they exchanged for pieces of iron, upon which they seemed to set the highest value. The men were in some cases clad with the skins of animals; but, in every instance, without exception, the females were modestly covered, and of tolerably prepossessing appearance, except so far as an ornament of wood attached to the under lip, detracted from their general merits.

Six months after the Santiago had returned to Monterey, a second expedition was undertaken at the command of the viceroy, with orders to examine the coast still further, in order that wherever a suitable port could be found for establishing a mission, the standard of the cross, and by it that of his Catholic majesty might be erected. The expedition, which was commanded by Don Bruno de Ezeta, a captain of the royal navy, was accompanied by Fathers Miguel Campa and Benito

Sierra. It put to sea from the port of San Blas toward the middle of March, 1775, being attended by a schooner under the command of Francis Bodega, after whom the bay of that name was called. Upon proceeding northward as far as the forty-first degree of latitude, they came to anchor in a tolerably sized bay, where they found the natives friendly and affable. Seeing that the place was well suited for a missionary establishment, they took formal possession of it on the eleventh of April, the religious ceremonies on the occasion being a missa cantata, sermon, and the solemn chanting of the Te Deum. This happened on the feast of the most holy Trinity, for which reason they named the place Trinity Bay. Thence they continued their voyage till they reached the forty-seventh degree, where they also anchored in a commodious harbor, and took possession of the country, by erecting a cross on the shore. The course thus adopted by the civil authorities of planting the cross wherever they landed, whatever may have been the immediate object in view, whether the subjugation of the people or the salvation of souls, was both a commendable and praiseworthy course, for by it they showed that they trusted more to religion than the sword for the reduction of the people. From Trinity Bay they continued their voyage till the thirtieth of July, when the vessels became separated in a storm, and the schooner entirely lost sight of. The commander of the frigate still con-

tinued his course, but, on reaching the forty-ninth degree, in consequence of the change of the season and the illness of his men, found himself necessitated to return to Monterey, where he arrived on the twenty-ninth of August, with most of his men suffering from scurvy. Their first care upon returning was to redeem the promise they had made to the Almighty before starting, and hence all, from the captain to the cabin-boy, devoutly approached the sacraments of the church, and assisted at a mass of thanksgiving.

The viceroy, Bucarelli, on receiving an account of the expedition, was yet unsatisfied as to the result, and immediately resolved upon another, the chief object of which was not the establishment of missions but the discovery of the long-wished-for north-eastern passage. This expedition, which was commanded by Don Ignatius Artiago, and accompanied by the Fathers Riahio and Noriega, was composed of two vessels—the *Princessa*, a new frigate built for the purpose, and the *Favorita*, purchased for a like object in Peru. Having put on board provisions sufficient to last them a year, they sailed from San Blas on the twelfth February, 1779. They had instructions not to part during the voyage, but in case they were separated by a storm or other accident, they were to make for the strait of Bucarelli, in order to form a union. By the third of May, they had proceeded as far north as the fifty-fifth degree of latitude, when

they entered amid the islands opposite what is at present British America. There they carefully examined the coast for a couple of months, expecting to discover the strait; but not finding it, they continued their course till they reached the sixtieth degree, where they entered an extensive port, well sheltered, abounding in fish, and provided with an abundance of wood and water, the two great requisites for seafaring men. To this place they gave the name of Santiago, which is supposed to be the same as Cook's Inlet. Before their departure they fixed the cross in an elevated position, after first carrying it in procession, and chanting the *Vexilla Regis*. Perceiving that the arm of the bay, where they now found themselves, stretched inland, orders were given to have it examined, in the hope that it might prove to be the strait they were in search of. A barge, with an officer, a pilot and some men, was accordingly dispatched for the purpose, and followed the course of the creek for several days, but not finding an end, they resolved upon returning to the port and giving an account to the captain, which they accordingly did. While the barge had been absent, those on the frigate were visited by numbers of gentiles, who came out to them in canoes, and bartered their goods for whatever articles the Spaniards were willing to give them. Amongst those who thus came from the shore was a man whose appearance and manner were rather remarkable. Unlike his com-

panions, he did not express any wonder or admiration at the sight or construction of the vessel, and when they asked him by signs if he had ever before seen any of the like, he pointed in the direction of a cape behind which the Russians were then supposed to be lying at anchor, for which reason the Spaniards were of opinion that the man was a Russian.

On the return of the exploring party the captain gave orders for home, and they were soon descending the coast. After passing the port of Santiago in the forty-ninth degree they encountered a terrible storm, which so completely darkened the heavens as to leave them in doubt as to their actual position. Five-and-twenty hours of painful suspense had elapsed when the obscurity was slightly relieved, but only to show them the danger to which they were exposed. On all sides in the immediate vicinity of the land they saw themselves surrounded by numerous islets and rocks, so dangerous and formidable that at any moment they were in danger of losing the vessel. To extricate themselves from such imminent peril they had recourse to the powerful intercession of the glorious Mother of God, the captain having ordered her statue to be brought upon deck and the *Salve Regina* to be sung, which, when the people had done, the darkness was broken and they soon found themselves in a bay at one of the islands, where they immediately anchored, rejoic-

ing that they had been so fortunate as to escape from so perilous a position.

A large number of the crew being now suffering from sickness, and the season of the equinoxes rapidly approaching, when navigation at that latitude was considered unsafe, the captain immediately quitted those waters, and arrived at the bay of St. Francis on the fourteenth September, where he remained for a month and a half recruiting the sick and adjusting the maps before returning to Lower California. Here they learned for the first time of the death of the viceroy, Bucarelli, which was the cause of universal regret, but to none more so than to the Fathers.

While the expedition, of which we are speaking, was absent, Fr. Junipero was applying himself with the zeal of an apostle at his mission of San Carlos, at Monterey, to the conversion of the people. His kind and gentle demeanor and engaging address soon drew large numbers of the gentiles to the mission. These he daily instructed for several hours by means of an interpreter, and before long had the happiness of receiving many of them into the Church. Recounting the Father's success at this time, his biographer says: "The number of Christians was largely increased, so that as soon as some became Christians, others hastened to ask for instruction." Indeed, so great was the disposition of the people to embrace the religion that the want of a sufficient knowledge of the language

seemed the only veritable obstacle in the way of the missionaries. Successful, however, though their exertions had been, Father Junipero's ardent desires for the promotion of the kingdom of God were only further increased. As long as any of the people remained to be converted he could not allow himself the smallest repose. He accordingly applied himself to the establishment of an additional mission between San Diego and San Gabriel, to be dedicated to St. John Capistrano. On the thirtieth of October the foundation of this mission was laid under very favorable auspices, great numbers of the natives being present and assisting in the erection of the necessary buildings. The joy this circumstance occasioned the Father was succeeded by a most unpleasant announcement of the murder of one of the Religious of San Carlos, and the attempted destruction of that mission. At the instigation of a couple of apostates the gentiles formed the resolution of attacking the Christians and destroying the establishment.

The plot was most carefully kept up to the moment of the attack. On the fourth of November the conspirators, to the number of one thousand or more, assembled at some distance from the mission, and having formed into two bodies, one for the destruction of the presidio and the other for that of the mission, they proceeded on their iniquitous errand. Arriving at the mission they immediately set to plundering the church and firing

the barracks. The noise and tumult immediately awoke the Religious, when one of them, Father Lewis, rushed incautiously out with the view of appeasing the mob, addressing them in the usual: "Amar a Dios Hijos"—"Love God, my children." Thereupon the infuriated people fell presently upon him, dragged him to some distance, and tearing off his garments dispatched him with arrows, clubs and stones. In their fury they so bruised and hacked his body that nothing remained whole but his consecrated hands. At the same time two of the Father's employees, a blacksmith and a carpenter, fell mortally wounded under the arrows of the enemy. The savages next directed their attention to the soldiers, but these defended themselves so valiantly that it was found necessary to burn them out. Dislodged from their original position, they took refuge in a little hut, where they nobly maintained themselves till morning, when the enemy retired from the contest, but not before burning and destroying everything save the place where the soldiers were entrenched.

Such was the deplorable fate of the first mission founded in Upper California, five years after its establishment; but not even this, though disheartening, was enough to discourage the Fathers in the prosecution of their charitable work. The mission which was thus burned to the ground at the malevolent instigation of the apostates, they were ready to re-establish as soon as arrangements could

be made; and they felt assured that the blood of their martyred companions would appeal in their behalf and serve as a propitiation before God for the conversion of the people. In this they judged not amiss, as the sequel will show.

It is here only just to remark that the neophytes at the mission took no part with the savages in their attack upon the Fathers. According to their statements they had been obliged, under the penalty of death, to remain in their huts during the engagement, and so, however willing they might have been to bring aid to the Religious, they were thus necessitated to remain silent and passive spectators of a scene of which they did not only not approve, but even abhorred. In this they probably stated the truth, for it is only reasonable to suppose that under the circumstances the presence of so many of the gentiles would have awed them into silence and submission. Upon the withdrawal of the gentiles the Christians went out for the purpose of recovering the body of the Father, which they found on the bank of a stream, but so altered and disfigured that it was with difficulty they recognized it as his. Pierced with innumerable arrows and otherwise exhibiting marks of the greatest violence from stones, clubs and swords, the whole, from head to foot, was one continuous wound, and evidenced most clearly the rage and malice of his murderers. "It was recognized," says the historian, "to be the body of Father

Jaime from the marks of whiteness which in part it retained where not entirely covered with blood." It was immediately conveyed to the presidio, together with the body of the carpenter, where it was interred in the little chapel with all the honor and reverence due to a martyr. The garrison which was now joined by those of the mission of St. John of Capistrano, resolved to maintain themselves at the presidio till instructions should be received from the authorities. When news of the occurrence reached the Fathers at Monterey, Father Junipero, viewing it only in its results, as far as it was likely to affect the conversion of the people, exclaimed in the following words: "Thanks be to God, now the land has been watered, now the reduction of the people will be effected." As he could not immediately repair to the scene of the disorder, he lost no time in communicating with the missionaries and giving them instructions as to how they should act, while, at the same time, he informed the viceroy of the unhappy occurrence, and hoped he would exercise his clemency toward the offenders, as he had no doubt but the whole had originated with the great enemy of mankind, and as such was to be attributed more to the ignorance than to the malice of the people. He also expressed a hope that his excellency would take measures for the reconstruction of the missions in order that the evil one might not be able to succeed in his artifice against the religion, and to

avoid a repetition of such disasters he submitted the necessity of increasing the number of guards at the mission, the natural consequence of which would be the preservation of order, the speedier reduction of the people and the salvation of their immortal souls.

These representations he dispatched to Mexico by the hands of the commandant, Rivera, who sailed from Monterey on the sixteenth December, and arrived at San Gabriel, near San Carlos, the scene of the disaster, about the beginning of February. There he was accidentally joined by an expedition, commanded by Anza, on its way from Sonora to the port of St. Francis. Anza, having under his command a number of soldiers, proceeded immediately in company with the other commander to the aid of the Christians, with whom he remained for some time, inspiring them with confidence, and seeking out the offenders. But not seeing any further necessity for his presence, he continued his route, having taken the precaution of leaving a dozen of his men at the mission as a guard in case of an emergency. As soon as his excellency had heard of the unhappy occurrence, he wrote in the following trustful, encouraging manner to Father Junipero: "I cannot express to your reverence the sentiments with which the unhappy occurrence at the mission of San Diego and the tragic death of Father L. Zayrut, an account of which I have received from the commandant,

Don Rivera, and Moncada and Don Baptista Anza have inspired me. In all likelihood they would have been greater only for the opportune arrival of the last named, with the families destined for Monterey.

The arrangements which these officers have made for the security of San Diego, as well as for that of San Gabriel and San Luis, are prudent and such as were dictated in view of subsequent dangers. They have informed me of the apprehension of some of the malefactors, and encourage me to look for a return of tranquillity with the punishment of the guilty. I hope for the same, but as this attempt shows me how little is to be trusted either to the neophytes or the gentiles, I have given orders to Don Neve, governor of the peninsula, to recruit, if possible, five-and-twenty men, as a reinforcement demanded by Don Rivera.

“The arrival of the packet-boats the Prince and the San Carlos, which left for their destination on the tenth, current, will serve not a little to tranquillize the inhabitants, at the same time that they will facilitate the occupation of the port of St. Francis; and as there are some on board in the capacity of soldiers, I have ordered that they should remain at San Diego. Moreover, I have ordered the commissary of San Blas to raise some recruits without delay, and to forward them, with arms and ammunition to the governor.

"I am not unmindful of the other things, to which I will give effect as soon as an opportunity occurs; and I think that having offered this tribulation to God, you will not alter in anything your apostolic zeal, but rather trust to seeing ameliorated the constitution of these establishments, to which, no doubt, your reverence will contribute much, by animating the Fathers to confidence, on account of the presence of the troops.

"To F. Junipero Serra." "BUCARELLI."

The above was written by the viceroy before receiving Father Junipero's account, which, from some unaccountable accident, did not arrive at the same time as the dispatch from the commanders, Rivera and Anza. On the third of April, his excellency wrote again in answer to the Father's communication, acquainting him with the steps he had taken for the safety of the missions, and of which he had already informed him in his letter of March. "All which," he continues, "I make known to your reverence for your comfort and consolation, hoping that by your apostolic zeal you will render effective my arrangements, being assured that, on my part, I am ready to grant all possible aid to the missions, which have hitherto been so advantageous."

From the moment the account of the revolt reached Monterey, Father Junipero was impatient to visit the scene of the disaster, but was unwillingly detained on account of the departure of the

commandant till the thirtieth of April, when, in company with one of his Religious, he sailed for the Mission. To re-establish the settlement, and once more present an opportunity to the people for accepting the faith was the chief object of his wishes; but as this could not be effected without aid, he applied for the services of the sailors then in the port, to assist him in rebuilding the dwellings. His petition met with a most generous response, and immediately a number of volunteers were on their way to re-establish the buildings destroyed by the savages. The work was begun with the most generous sentiments on the part of the volunteers. The rapid and satisfactory progress that was being made, was an evidence that the buildings would be quickly completed and everything ready for the reception of the Fathers; but even here the Religious were doomed to disappointment. The old enemy of mankind could not bear to see them encroaching on his domain; and when he could not make use of the natives to attack them (for they had all retired into the mountains), he adopted another equally effective means for frustrating their efforts. A report had got abroad, though on what grounds it would be difficult to say, that the Christians were in danger; that the natives were returning in overwhelming numbers to attack and destroy them. The fervid imaginations of some were ready to picture the most awful and deplorable consequences. A little later, and un-

less precautions were taken, all would be cruelly massacred; the attack, in the first instance, was only a skirmish compared to what this was certain to be. Disappointment at being thwarted in their designs on the Christians, and revenge for the loss of their companions killed in the engagement, were sure to urge them to the greatest excesses, and the utter destruction of the foreigners. Although these were not the sentiments of the majority, yet they appeared to be participated in by a considerable number, and by none more so than the commander himself, who, under the circumstances, deemed it advisable to call all under his command within the presidio. This, it need hardly be said, was the cause of the greatest affliction to Father Junipero, the more so as he was aware that the reports were unfounded, and the fears of the commander entirely illusory; but, as the order was given, he had to retire like the rest, and to abandon for the moment the re-establishment of the mission. One-and-twenty days subsequent, upon the arrival of reinforcements from Lower California, he was again enabled to resume operations, which he was not slow in bringing to a happy termination, and then the work of conversion was again taken up.

Tranquillity being thus restored, the Father returned to Monterey, preparatory to setting out for the establishment of the mission of St. Francis. On his way he visited the missions of San Gabriel,

San Luis and San Antonio, finding much consolation both in the temporal and spiritual progress thereof. During his visit to Mexico, one of the things urged by him most earnestly on his excellency the viceroy, was the immediate establishment of the projected missions to St. Francis and St. Clare. The chief obstacle then in the way of the project was the difficulty of finding the requisite number of troops, and of transporting them to their place of destination. To this end the commandant Anza was sent, as we have seen, to open a communication between Sonora and Monterey, and in a second expedition, as has been also observed, conveyed a number of families to the same destination, with the view of transporting them ultimately to the bay of St. Francis, the site of the contemplated missions. According to his instructions, he was to leave the emigrants and cattle at Monterey, and proceed first to examine and register the bay. This he carefully performed, and returned about the middle of September.

Nine months after his return from the examination of the place, the expedition set out by land for the establishment of the mission of St. Francis. It was composed of the commandant, Don Joseph Marajo, a sergeant and sixteen soldiers, seven colonists, and several servants and followers. The soldiers and colonists were married men of large families. There were four missionaries—Fathers Francis Murguia and Thomas de la Pena, destined

for the mission of Santa Clara, and Fathers Benito Campon and Palou, the biographer of Junipero, for San Francisco. On the twenty-seventh of June, they arrived in the vicinity of the bay, on the borders of a little lake, afterward known as the "Washerwoman's Lagoon." Here they encamped, and determined to await the arrival of the vessel, with the necessary provisions, before beginning the establishment of the mission. The following day, the feast of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, they erected a little altar and celebrated the holy sacrifice of the mass, which the reader must not take for the first ever offered in San Francisco; for, as has been previously remarked, the other expeditions that touched at this port were accompanied by missionaries. While waiting for the arrival of the vessel with the stores, they occupied themselves in examining the bay and visiting the natives at their respective rancherias, by whom they were favorably received, and given to understand that their arrival was pleasing to all. The natives even returned their visits and made them presents of several trifles, which were gratefully accepted, and a proper return made of a different kind. Some time having now elapsed and the vessel not appearing, they applied themselves to the cutting and preparing of timber for the establishment of the presidio and mission. At length, on the eighteenth of August, the store-ship arrived, having been detained on the voyage by con-

trary winds. The establishment of the presidio was commenced a month later, on the seventeenth of September, the feast of the Stigmas of St. Francis. The ceremonies were of the customary kind, *i. e.* the blessing and planting of the cross, a missa cantata, Te Deum, etc. The foundation of the mission was delayed a little longer, till the order of the commandant, Rivera, should arrive. This interval they employed in surveying the harbor, which resulted in the knowledge of there being no other outlet except that by which they had entered. In fine, on the ninth of October, 1776, having blessed the place and erected the holy cross, they took formal possession of the mission, and began the work of conversion. None of the gentiles, it appears, were present on this occasion, having to fly from a neighboring tribe, named the Salsonas, who happened to attack them at that moment. This naturally interfered for a while with the labors of the Religious, for the natives did not return for several months, and it was not till the feast of St. John of the following year that they were enabled to celebrate their first baptism. Once, however, a beginning was made, the numbers steadily increased, till before many years they had converted as many as four hundred.

CHAPTER IV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSION OF SANTA CLARA.—FATHER JUNIPERO OBTAINS POWER TO ADMINISTER CONFIRMATION.—DEATH OF FATHER CRESPI.—ESTABLISHMENT OF TWO MISSIONS ON THE COLORADO.—THEIR DESTRUCTION.—MARTYRDOM OF TWO RELIGIOUS.—REMARKABLE VISION.—DEATH OF FATHER JUNIPERO.—STATE OF THE MISSIONS IN 1802.—TREATMENT OF MEXICO BY SPAIN.—REVOLUTION IN MEXICO.—GOVERNOR ECHANDIA.

HAVING founded, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, the mission and presidio of St. Francis, the Fathers next directed their attention to the establishment of that of St. Clare. St. Clare or Santa Clara, distant about sixty miles from San Francisco, was the most favorably located of all the missions, being situated in the rich, extensive plains of San Bernardino, since turned to such account by the American settlers. Here the party arrived about the beginning of January, and on the twelfth of the same month, 1777, the holy sacrifice of the Mass was offered up for the first time by Father Thomas de la Pena. The Fathers' first endeavors at this mission were not without their important results. Shortly after their arrival, a great epidemic happening to break out among the children, to which numbers succumbed, the Fathers, by administering to them the holy sacrament of baptism, to which the parents do not seem to have objected,

obtained the salvation of many. And it is to the prayers of these little ones before the throne of the Almighty, that, in all probability, the future rapid success of this mission is to be attributed; the number of whose converts soon amounted to close on seven hundred. The people in this particular locality differed but little, if anything, from those of the Bay. Their language, customs, habits and means of subsistence were almost alike. The acorns, of which there was a great abundance, and the seeds of the wild herbs, formed their chief means of support. Their social state, like that of their neighbors, was marked by one most shameful and unnatural custom. As has been remarked, when speaking of the character and customs of the natives in general, it was usual for some of the males, in order to lead more dissolute lives, to assume the dress and appearance of females, and to associate exclusively with them. These unhappy unfortunates, who were named Goyas and regarded as outcasts even by their own, had all the privileges of the married, but on condition of lending themselves to the gratification of the depraved lusts of their male companions. It is true they were never very numerous, not exceeding a couple or three in each of the tribes, except in the district of Santa Barbara, where this unnatural, sodomitical custom prevailed to a considerable extent. In every instance the Fathers eventually succeeded in abolishing the odious and reprehensible prac-

tice. Shortly after the establishment of the mission of which we are speaking, on the occasion of a great number of the gentiles presenting themselves at the mission, an instance of this nature was brought under the notice of the Religious, when they had the offender immediately arrested, divested of his female attire, and made to conform to general usage, that of our first parents in paradise. Another instance of this, but of a somewhat different character, was also discovered, wherein the parties cohabited as married, but by the exertions of the Fathers they were expelled the locality.

One of the means contemplated by government for obtaining a permanent hold on the country, was, as we have seen, the establishment of Mexican colonies in different parts of the country. These, while they offered a protection to the missionaries, and gave a pledge of security against any hostile attacks on the part of the savages, were also likely to be of advantage to government, as tending to form a white population, which, in time, might outnumber the natives. It was to this end that the families spoken of above as having been conducted by Anza from Sonora were intended. The country in the immediate vicinity of Santa Clara being peculiarly adapted to such a purpose, the colonists formed a settlement there on the first of November, 1777. They were governed by an alcalde or magistrate, and subject to the governor of the province. Although the lands at their dis-

posal were fertile and extensive, they do not appear to have turned them to very great profit. Their chief and only ambition seems to have been to provide sufficient to answer their ordinary wants. Wheat, maize and beans were their usual crops. This happy spirit of contentment with the ordinary necessities of life still characterizes their descendants; for, while the American settlers are ever employed in devising measures for increasing their wealth, and advancing their general interests, the Spanish descendants of the early arrivals, on the other hand, are remarkable for the opposite characteristic, being only ambitious of possessing a sufficiency for their every-day wants.

On taking possession of the missions of Lower California in 1668, Father Junipero learned that in consideration of the difficulty of visiting the missions his Holiness, Benedict XIV., of illustrious memory, had conferred on the Fathers the privilege of administering the holy sacrament of confirmation. As the same difficulty and necessity still existed, the Father President, in order that the Christians might not be deprived of such a singular-blessing, wrote to his superiors in Mexico, requesting them to apply to the sovereign Pontiff for a like faculty for his brethren. The application was made and favorably received by the then reigning Pope, Clement XIV., who, for the reasons alleged, granted the same faculty for a period of ten years to the president of the missions, and

four others to be nominated by him. Immediately on receiving this power, Father Junipero lost no time in exercising it in behalf of his people. On the twenty-fifth of August, 1778, after administering the sacred rite to those prepared for it at his mission of Monterey, he proceeded to the south, where he remained actively engaged till January of the following year, when he returned to San Carlos. Here he occupied himself in instructing and baptizing the neophytes, feeling happy that the work of the missions was advancing as steadily and satisfactorily as could be reasonably expected ; but this happiness, so natural in his case, was presently embittered, for at this time he was made acquainted of the appointment, by the supreme council of Mexico, of the chevalier de Croix as commandant and captain-general of the Californias. De Croix was of all others the last man the Fathers would like to see appointed ; he was entirely a different person from Bucarelli, for, although he affected to be in the interests of the missionaries, and desirous of promoting the cause of religion, he showed by his acts how unreal were his assertions. Amongst other impediments, which at the outset he threw in their way, may be mentioned that of preventing Father Junipero from exercising the faculty of confirming. On the plea that the brief bestowing the privilege of confirming had not received the sanction of the government authorities, though in

reality it had been submitted to and received the approval of the royal council of Madrid and the sanction of the authorities at Mexico, he prohibited the Father using it further till an order should be received to that effect from the viceroy. No amount of reasoning or explanation could move him from his purpose, and so the Father had to submit to an order as capricious as unjust. The matter being finally referred to his excellency, instructions were received not to interfere with the president of the missions in the exercise of his duty, and even to grant him every facility for the discharge of his ministry.

During the time that the decision was pending, Father Junipero, in obedience to the order of the commandant, carefully abstained from exercising his right to confirm. He did not even make any visits to the other missions, but occupied himself exclusively in instructing his flock at San Carlos. The decision was received in the month of September, 1781, when he resumed the exercise of his faculties, which should never have been suspended or even questioned, by the governor. After confirming those prepared at the missions of San Carlos and San Antonio, Father Junipero set out for the purpose of visiting the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara. This was not the first time he had been to these establishments, for shortly after their foundation he had paid them a visit. He was accompanied on the journey by his

friend and disciple, Father Crespi, who was desirous of seeing the progress that religion was making in these parts. This was in the year 1781, and they arrived at the bay on the twenty-sixth of October, where they remained till the ninth of November. During this time Father Junipero administered the sacrament of confirmation to all who had been converted since his previous visit, as also to those of the mission of St. Clare. The Father President was now destined to undergo a loss which could not be readily repaired. While returning to San Carlos, a few days before arriving at home, his venerable friend and companion, Father Crespi, fell ill. We are not told what was the character of his sickness, but from the beginning it appears he had a presentiment of his speedy dissolution. Feeling that the hand of death was upon him he prepared himself with much fervor for the reception of the last sacrament, and with great confidence and love of God, resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator, on the first of January, 1782, being then in the sixty-first year of his age, and the thirtieth of his missionary career. The first sixteen years of his life were spent among the poor Indians of the Sierra Gorda, where he succeeded in converting and civilizing several hundred of the people. The remaining part of his missionary career was in California, where his virtues and labors for the salvation of the natives obtained him the esteem and

admiration of all. It was the opinion of those who were best acquainted with his virtues that, at the moment of death, his blessed soul passed immediately to the enjoyment of the beatific vision of God in the kingdom of Heaven. He was buried in the church of San Carlos at Monterey, in the company of two of his former companions.

For some time it had been an object of earnest consideration with Father Junipero to establish additional missions in the country immediately opposite the channel of Santa Barbara, between San Diego and Monterey. The great importance and necessity of this he pointed out to the commandant, without whose permission he was unable to act. De Croix, seeing the advantage of such a scheme to the government, in a political sense, gave his consent, and issued orders to the proper authorities for the establishment of a presidio and three missions, as desired by the Father. The presidio and one mission were to occupy the centre, immediately opposite the channel, while the others were to be at either extremity. Each mission was to have a guard of fifteen soldiers. It was also recommended to form a pueblo entitled Our Lady of the Angels, *i.e.*, Los Angeles.

The commandant likewise sent instructions to the superiors of the college of Queretaro to establish two missions on the banks of the Colorado, for the double purpose of effecting the conversion of the gentiles, and of maintaining secure commu-

nication with California and Sonora. These missions, however, were to be placed upon an entirely different footing from those of California. Eight soldiers, and as many colonists with their families for each, was to be their only protection. The existence of a presidio was not considered necessary. The treatment of the neophytes, too, was to be on a different plan; for, after their conversion they were to remain in their respective rancherias and obtain their subsistence, like their gentile companions, by fishing, hunting and the like. Such was the project of the commandant, and it is not difficult to see that it was wanting in the first requirement for securing success. No one having a proper idea of how missionary work was to be effected would have conceived such a plan. Association, in the first place, with the gentile population, and freedom from the control of the Fathers, in the second, were certain to be attended by the most unfavorable results; while the necessity of providing for their ordinary wants in the manner hitherto followed, was calculated to act as a barrier to their enlightenment and civilization. The project, however, was tried, and not only failed in its primary object, but resulted, unhappily, in the death of most of the Christians. Immediately after the establishment of the two missions, the Indians fell upon the settlers, burned everything to be found, massacred the four Fathers and most of their people. The Religious martyred

on the occasion were Fathers John Diaz, Mathew Moreno, Francis Garces and John Barranoche. The hostility of the natives was not without cause: it was to be attributed to the encroachment made on their grounds by the colonists. The cattle belonging to the Christians, by feeding on the herbs, deprived the inhabitants of one of their chief means of support. The colonists, too, had also appropriated certain patches of ground turned to much account by the people for the production of cereals. The natives seeing themselves thus deprived of their inheritance, which to them was of the highest importance, naturally conceived a bitter antipathy against the Europeans, and ultimately resolved to get rid of them entirely. Nothing was known of the plot by the soldiers or colonists until the moment of the occurrence, but it would seem that the Fathers had feared for the consequences, and had been exhorting the Christians for some time to be prepared for the worst. On a certain Sunday morning, after the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the mass, while everything seemed tranquil, the storm suddenly burst over their heads. Great bodies of gentiles, from different quarters, armed with clubs, staves, and arrows, and amid great noise and clamor, fell precipitately upon the mission, and immediately murdered the commandant, a sergeant, the soldiers, and all the colonists except two, who by concealment managed to effect their escape. The suddenness of the attack, and

their overwhelming numbers, left no chance to the Christians to offer any effectual resistance. Had they even been forewarned, they may not have been able, under the circumstances, to have made a successful defence. The barbarity and atrocity performed on the occasion a lively imagination can readily picture for itself; a savage, excited multitude, in the hour of victory, knows no bounds—observes no moderation. Sacrilege followed in the steps of murder—the little church was presently fired, and the sacred ornaments and utensils given to the flames. The passions of the multitude were for the moment at their highest, and, wild with excitement, they rushed hither and thither, destroying the goods of the Christians, burning their dwellings, and insulting their remains. The only thing remarkable is that they did not burn their bodies with their effects.

The women and children they retained, but the Fathers shared the fate of their companions and fell victims to the rage of the gentiles, while confessing and exhorting their own to die for the cause of religion. One of the soldiers who happened to escape managed to make his way to the presidio of Sonora, where he informed the authorities of the unhappy occurrence. A body of troops was immediately despatched with orders to rescue the captives and to punish the leaders. The captain of this party, Signor Tajes, on arriving at the locality, found everything as had been related—

the mission in ruins, the bodies of the Christians scattered around, and everything indicative of the greatest atrocities. His first care was to order the interment of the dead, but the remains of the Fathers he had placed in a coffin and conveyed to Sonora. Thence the party passed to the site of the second mission, where they found everything as at the first, with the exception of the Fathers' remains. And as one of these missionaries—Father Garces—was well known and esteemed by the Indians, having lived a long time in the country, they were ready to hope that his life might have been spared, but in this they were mistaken. The Almighty would not deprive him of the honor and merit of shedding his blood in testimony of the faith, and that his death was most acceptable to the Lord, the following would seem to be evidence: While the soldiers were in search of the bodies their attention was attracted to a little spot strangely contrasting with everything around, it being covered with verdure and a great variety of flowers, amongst which the marigold was conspicuous. The singularity of the thing, no other spot presenting a like appearance, caused the captain to reflect and to believe that it might be a testimony on the part of the Almighty to the virtue and presence of the martyrs' remains. He accordingly ordered the spot to be dug, where, to the joy and surprise of the party, the bodies of the Religious were discovered, clad in the *hair cloths*

which they were accustomed to wear during life. From information afterwards obtained it appears that they had been interred by a gentile who had known them during life and esteemed them exceedingly, but whether he had acted from motives of natural affection or was inspired by the Almighty to render this service to the bodies of his servants, I leave to the reader to determine. The verdure and flowers on their grave, which, during the short time that elapsed since their death, could not be the result of any natural process, were an evidence of their sanctity—a miraculous proof of their holiness. These bodies, also, the captain had carefully removed and conveyed to Sonora.

The commandant next directed his attention to the rescue of the captives, which he effected, though not without difficulty, as the savages had fled from that part of the country in consequence of a singular phenomenon which they had witnessed after the massacre of the Christians, and which had caused them the greatest alarm. It appears that the night following the massacre the gentiles, as well as those of the Christians who had been spared, were astonished at beholding a beautiful procession of persons clothed in white with burning lamps in their hands and before them a cross surrounded with lights. They appeared directing their movements towards the site of the mission, singing at the same time a canticle of praise. After a time the whole disappeared, but was repeated

on the subsequent night, and continued regularly to appear in the same manner, until the savages became so alarmed that they abandoned that part of the country, and withdrew to a very considerable distance.

The failure of the missions on the banks of the Colorado now left the governor at leisure to attend to those of the channel of Santa Barbara. The deplorable consequences which resulted from the plan on which the lately destroyed missions were established, ought to have disabused the civil authorities of the feasibility of ever attempting a like system in future. But, inasmuch as the governor was actuated neither by motives of justice nor humanity, he would still experiment on the lives of the Religious. In this, however, the Fathers were unwilling to join him; for upon learning the footing on which the missions were to be established, they immediately wrote to their ecclesiastical superior excusing themselves from taking charge, and stating their reasons. The grounds on which they declined were the following, which to every reasonable mind must appear ample. The conversion of the people, in the first place, was not to be expected but through motives of self-interest. Something should be first offered them in order to conciliate their affections and to gain their good-will. Thus they could the more easily be led to a knowledge and acceptance of religion. On the other hand, if the missionaries had nothing

to offer, the people would ever remain estranged from their interests, and indifferent to their doctrine, while if permitted after baptism to live in their respective rancherias, naked and starving like their gentile companions, it could not be expected they would be advanced either in faith, morals or civilization—the great objects for which their conversion was sought. The consequence of this refusal was the suspension for the time of the establishment of the contemplated missions, a circumstance which exceedingly afflicted the Father, though it did not disturb his tranquility of mind, for, as was his custom, he accepted it as a trial sent to him by God, and as such readily conformed to the Divine will.

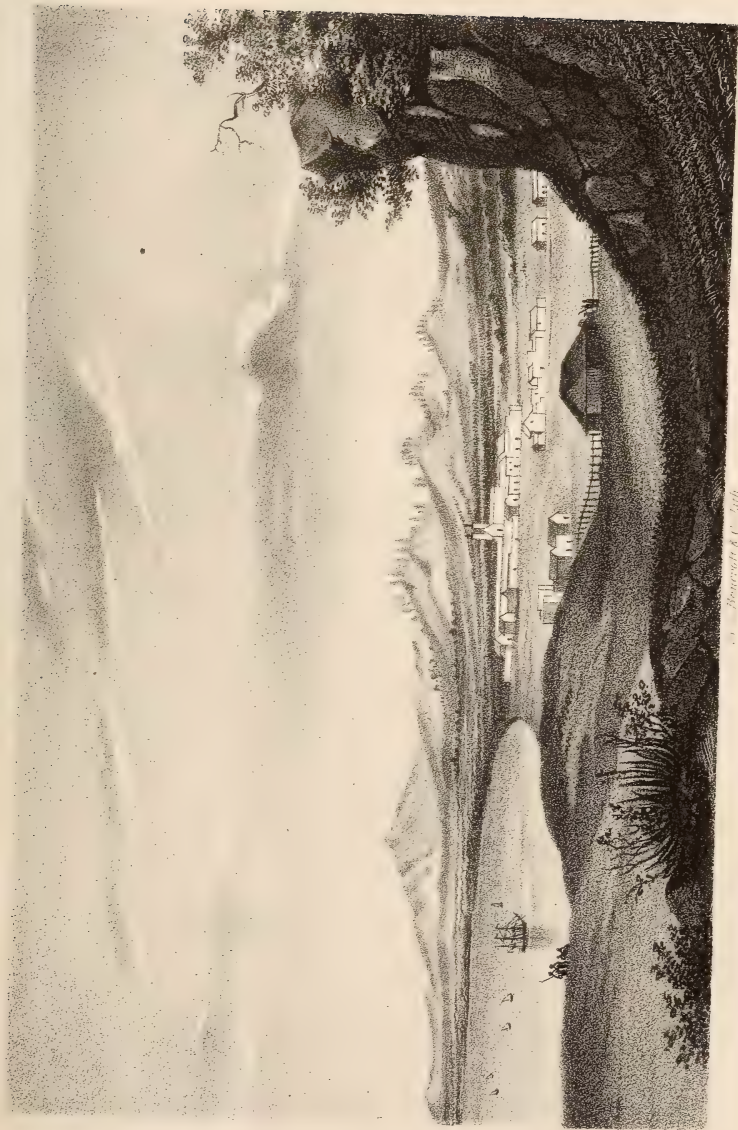
The time was now drawing near when this venerable man, Father Junipero, was to be called to receive the reward of his labors in the kingdom of Heaven. For several years he had been suffering from an affection of the chest, which may have been produced, but was certainly increased by his extraordinary penance and mortification. The better to move his hearers to sorrow and compunction for their transgressions, he was accustomed, when preaching, to make use of a scourge, in imitation of St. Francis of Solano. The strength and violence with which he beat himself in the presence of the people was a most powerful argument in his denunciation of vice, and doubtless an infallible means of obtaining for sinners the grace of

conversion. . On other occasions, he would carry with him into the pulpit and use for a like purpose a large stone, with which he struck himself so unmercifully on the breast, that the audience oftentimes thought he would die in the act. But the most painful, as it must have been the most dangerous, was that of applying a light to his bosom, when preaching on the torments of hell, regardless of the torture which such a proceeding must necessarily have caused him. In a word, this truly venerable and apostolic man left nothing undone to awaken in the minds of his hearers a just and adequate idea of the horror and deformity of sin.

Although suffering very much at this time from the infirmity specified, he set out for the last time to visit the northern missions. On the fourth of April, he arrived at the port of St. Francis, and while there, was informed of the serious illness of one of the Fathers of the neighboring mission of St. Clare. The illness of this Father and his death shortly after, were a forewarning to himself of his own speedy dissolution; and thus indeed he regarded the matter, for he immediately took measures to prepare for his own death. His acts of preparation consisted of a spiritual retreat and a general confession, which he made with the greatest compunction and an abundance of tears. This attention, however, to his own spiritual wants, did not in any way interfere with the due discharge of

his ministry in behalf of the people; but as soon as he had administered the sacrament of confirmation to all who stood in need of it, he immediately returned to his mission of San Carlos, there to enter upon a more immediate preparation for his final dissolution. Nor of this could there be now any reasonable doubt, for it was manifest to all that the hand of death was unmistakably upon him. The weight of his years—his utterly shattered constitution, added to his peculiar disease, left no hope to his friends of his ultimate recovery; but in death as in life, he proved himself the faithful servant of God, accepting with much cheerfulness and resignation the divine will in his regard.

From the tenth of August, 1784, when he returned to Monterey, he sank rapidly till the twenty-eighth of the same month (the feast of St. Augustine), when, after receiving the last rites of our holy religion, he calmly expired, being then in the seventy-first year of his life, half of which he spent in the apostolic ministry, between the missions of Sierra Gorda and the Californias. "He ended his laborious life," says Father Palou, "at the age of seventy years nine months and four days, after having passed fifty-three years eleven months and thirteen days in religion, and thirty-five years four months and thirteen days in the apostolic ministry, during which time he performed the glorious actions we have seen. He lived in continual activity, occupied in virtuous



W. H. B. & Co. Lith.

View of the Port of Monterey in 1842.

and holy exercises and wonderful exertions, all directed to the greater honor and glory of God, and the salvation of souls." At the moment of his death he had the consolation to know that in the eight missions established in Upper California, as many as five thousand eight hundred persons had been brought to a knowledge of the faith. These, added to those of Lower California, would make the entire number of converts close on seven thousand, while the establishment of six colonies of Spaniards in different parts of the country, should be also set down as the result of his labors.

The very rare and extraordinary virtues practiced by this remarkable man during the greater part of his life, made him be regarded by all as a person of the most eminent sanctity. It was, indeed, the common opinion of all that at the moment of death his soul passed immediately to the kingdom of Heaven, and the remarkable cures effected at the time would seem to be an evidence of this. A couple will suffice. Amongst others who obtained from the Fathers some memorial of the illustrious dead, was a certain Don Juan Garcia, one of the royal physicians, who had been intimately acquainted with him during life, and had the very highest esteem for his virtue. This virtuous man, having been called upon shortly after to attend one of his patients, suffering from a grievous pain in the head, merely attached the little relic he had received to the suffering part, when pres-

ently the patient fell into an agreeable slumber, and afterwards awoke perfectly cured. Again: one of the Religious, Father Antonio Paterna, in consequence of having traveled a great distance during the great heat of the day, was seized with very violent pains. So critical was his state that the doctor had little hopes of his recovery, and he was making preparations for his death; but at this stage it was suggested to clothe him in the hair shirt of the Father, which, when effected, to the great joy and astonishment of all, he was presently relieved. But it is not merely in instances of this nature, however numerous or convincing, that we find an evidence of the sanctity of the man, but more especially in the advancement of the missionary work after his death, which we can hardly otherwise regard than as the effect of his prayers. While yet in existence, shortly before being called to his everlasting reward, he promised the Fathers to use his influence before God for the salvation of that people. That he was not unmindful of his promise, and that his prayers were most acceptable to God, the following extract from a letter written shortly after by Father Paul Mugartegui, of the mission of San Juan Capistrano, may be taken as evidence: "I assure you we thank God, for we have already seen accomplished the promise of our very Rev. Father President, Father Junipero, for *in these four last months* we have baptized more gentiles than in the three last years; and we attribute these conversions to the interces-

sion of our venerable Father Junipero, who will continue praying God as he has incessantly prayed during life. And we piously believe that he is now in the enjoyment of God, and that he will beseech him with more fervor; and it was doubtless in his behalf that so many conversions have been effected within the last four months. The converts are persons who have come from a great distance, and speak a different language from those of the mission. * * * And seeing that they have come from such a great distance to ask for baptism, we piously believe them to have been moved by a secret impulse, and that the Lord God of all mercy and consolation had drawn them, in order to console us for the loss which we sustained in the death of our Father." The same, to a great extent, might be said with equal truth of the other missions; for we find that in the four months which elapsed after his death, as many as nine hundred and thirty-six converts were made, and so the good work continued to advance until the entire country, with few exceptions, was brought to a knowledge of the truth, as we shall continue to show.

From the death of Father Junipero in 1784 to 1824, when the last of the Californian missions was established, under the title of St. Francis of Solano, the progress of religion was in every way as satisfactory as could be expected. The noble and generous spirit which actuated the first president of the missions, descended to his successor,

and was shared in by his brethren in general. Though there is no historical record of the labors of the Fathers later than this, sufficient is learned from their unpublished correspondence to show that their lives were far from inactive, and that their labors were everywhere crowned with success. Three years after the demise of the first president, the missions of Santa Barbara and La Purissima Conception were founded. These were speedily followed by others, till, at the beginning of the present century, the great majority of the gentiles were brought to a knowledge of God.

The following tabular statement, drawn up in 1802, will show the progress of the missions up to that date:

Foundation.	Missions.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1769	San Diego.....	737	822	1559
1770	San Carlos	376	312	688
1771	San Gabriel.....	532	515	1047
1771	San Antonio.....	568	484	1052
1772	San Luis Obispo...	374	325	699
1776	San Juan Capistrano	502	511	1013
1777	Santa Clara.....	736	555	1291
1779	San Francisco.....	433	381	814
1782	Santa Buenaventura.	436	502	938
1786	Santa Barbara.....	521	572	1093
1787	La P. Conception..	457	571	1028
1791	La Soledad... ..	296	267	563
1794	Santa Cruz.....	238	199	437
1797	San Juan Bautista..	530	428	958
1797	San José.....	327	295	622
1797	San Miguel.....	309	305	614
1797	San Fernando.....	317	297	614
1798	San Luis Rey.....	256	276	532
	Total.....	7945	7617	15562

If to the above be added the united congregations of Lower California, which at this period may be estimated at eight thousand, there will then be a total of twenty-three thousand five hundred and sixty-two native Christians in both Californias at the beginning of the present century. This in a country but sparsely inhabited, and presenting so many and such natural difficulties, is certainly one of the most remarkable results of missionary zeal to be met with in the annals of modern times. Other instances, it is true, may be pointed to in the past of much larger numbers having been brought to a knowledge of the truth within a more limited time, but certainly none where the inhabitants were as savage and the physical difficulties as great. Faithful to the great cause on which they had embarked, these noble, self-sacrificing heralds of the gospel advanced steadily and surely in the spiritual conquest of the country, until the entire people, with the exception of a few wandering tribes, had been taught the knowledge and worship of God. And even these, it is only just to suppose, would have been ultimately reclaimed from their barbarous state, and won over to Christ, had not the political events of which we shall presently speak interfered with the Fathers, and checked the progress of religion.

It is not unknown to the reader that the ancient kingdom of the Aztecs, conquered early in the six-

teenth century by Fernando Cortes, became a Spanish dependency, and was governed from 1535 to 1808 by a succession of viceroys, subject only to the court of Madrid. The policy pursued by these Spanish officials, whose conduct was regulated by their masters at home, was as injurious to the true interests of Spain as it was prejudicial to the well-being of the Mexican people. Influenced solely by a desire of advancing their own and their countrymen's interests, to the neglect of everything national, they farmed the offices of government, and placed in positions of trust and emolument such only as were of Spanish descent. The injustice of the administration was not even confined to this. The native inhabitants were not only excluded from all offices of trust, but measures were enacted whereby they were practically incapacitated from competing with their masters. The measures to which I refer, and which were so unworthy of the character of Spain as they were unjust to the Mexican race, were those by which everything beyond the most elementary training was prohibited that people; while, at the same time, the industry and material development of the country were hampered with the severest restrictions. For the furtherance of the same ruinous policy, the cultivation of several articles of native industry, as flax, the olive, the vine, and such like, was strictly prohibited by law, while a further statute declared it even illegal to engage in the

manufacture of any commodity capable of being supplied by the old country. As if to close every avenue of wealth to the people, it was for a time made a capital offence to engage in any foreign speculation. Under such unjust, degrading restrictions, it could not be supposed that the people would be either happy or loyal. Sedulously excluded from all offices of power and profit, shut out from the advantages of a liberal education, prohibited developing the natural resources of their country, and hampered and embarrassed in a thousand other different ways by the arbitrary will of a partial administration, they saw themselves helots and strangers in their own land. But as the power of their masters was firmly established, and entirely superior to theirs, they had only to await their deliverance with that calmness and resolution of men determined on gaining their freedom when the moment arrived.

The time for the accomplishment of this, seemed favorable upon the invasion of Spain by the French, in 1808. The then governing viceroy Don José Iturigaray, a man of liberal views, and very favorably disposed in behalf of the people, endeavored to form a provisional government composed partly of natives, and partly of Spaniards, but in this he was defeated by the Spanish inhabitants of the capital, who unwilling that any but their countrymen should have a voice in the government of the country, arrested his Excellency, and sent him a

prisoner to Spain. This, while it defeated for the time the aspirations of the people, gave rise to a powerful conspiracy, which a couple of years later in 1810, resulted in a general revolt, headed by a spirited national priest, Don Miguel Hidalgo. The object of the insurrection was not merely to deprive the Europeans of power, but to expel them the nation, and in their stead, to place the country under Mexican rule; a result apparently by no means improbable at the time, as Hidalgo was at the head of a powerful force, estimated at as many as one hundred thousand men. The fortunes of war, however, did not smile upon the efforts of the insurgents, for Hidalgo was taken, and his followers dispersed. The national cause next found a defender in, Morelas, another priest, who in 1813 called a National Congress at Chilpanzingo, and on the thirteenth of October, declared Mexico independent. Morelas, too, was defeated, captured and executed as a rebel at Mexico on the twenty-second of December, 1815. From this till 1820, the national cause, though sustained in a kind of partisan war by the patriots Victoria, Guerrero, Bravo and others, was constantly losing ground before the ever increasing power of the foreigners. Driven from the field, killed, imprisoned or otherwise subdued, the last shadow of opposition had completely disappeared, when the news of the revolution at home, and the proclamation of the liberal constitution, by Fer-

Ferdinand VII, again reanimated the hopes of the people, and encouraged them to a renewal of the contest. The leader and supporter of the popular cause in this instance was the remarkable Don Augustine Iturbide, afterward Emperor of the country under the title of Augustin I. Iturbide, who, though a Mexican, had been an officer of the royal army, and much distinguished as a loyalist during the previous disturbances, seeing the favorable moment, threw off his allegiance to government, put himself at the head of the revolutionary party and hastily proclaimed Mexico independent. His policy was not as those who had preceded him to place the country entirely in the hands of the people under Mexican rule, for in the constitution drawn up at the time the principal points were the recognition of the Catholic religion as the national creed, the abolition of distinctions founded on color, and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, the crown to be offered in the first instance to Ferdinand, and in case of refusal, to the infantas Don Carlos and Don Francisco de Paula. The revolution was this time successful. In the course of a few months the whole country recognized the authority of the chief, the capital alone holding out, but this he eventually gained when he instituted a regency to which he himself was appointed. A little later, on the eighteenth of May, 1822, with the support of the army and mob, he was proclaimed Emperor under the title of Au-

gustin I., but unhappily for the country his reign was only ephemeral, for, before the end of a year, in an insurrection headed by Santa Anna, he was deprived of the throne and compelled to sign his abdication, which he did on the twentieth of March, 1823.

Then was formed a provisional government, composed of Victoria, Bravo and others, and a congress having been assembled, a constitution similar to that of the United States was agreed upon and promulgated, by which the country was formed into a republic of nineteen states and four territories. California not having the population requisite for constituting a State, was admitted into the Union only as a territory, and, as such, had a voice in the congress but no permission to vote. The office of commandant-general or governor of the country remained undisturbed as under the previous regime; the power and authority of the Fathers, too, remaining intact as before. Upon the success of the revolution being made known in California, the governor, Don Pablo de Sola, faithful to his oath of allegiance to Spain, refused to take office under the new administration, and immediately quitted the country with some of the royalist troops. Don Luiz Arguello, a Californian by birth, became governor in the interim. At the same time, Don José Noriega, conformable to the powers vested in the provincial deputation of selecting a person to represent the

wants of the country in parliament, was dispatched to the congress in Mexico; but, being a Spaniard, was rejected on account of his country. The following year (1824), Arguello, who had never been formally appointed, and was only acting *pro tem.*, was relieved by lieutenant-colonel Don José Maria Echandia, the first governor and political chief under the republic. Echandia was a man of very little foresight and less religion. Hardly had he been installed in his office, when he began to meddle with the affairs of the Church, and endeavored by every means in his power to deprive the Religious of the direction of the temporal affairs of the missions; but in this he was overruled for the time by his masters in Mexico.

CHAPTER V.

PROGRESS OF THE MISSIONS FROM 1802 TO 1822.—THE SECULARIZATION SCHEME CONTEMPLATED BY SPAIN.—RUSSIA FORMS SETTLEMENTS ON THE COAST.—DISORGANIZED STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—MEXICO INTERFERES WITH THE FATHERS.—RESULTS OF SUCH INTERFERENCE.—STATE OF THE COUNTRY AFTER.—STATISTICS.—ILL-TREATMENT OF THE CLERGY.

DURING the period of political troubles in Mexico, while the authority of Spain was more nominal than real, it could not be expected that Californian missionary interests would be unaffected thereby. What was being done at the capital was naturally felt in the provinces, the more so in this case as the funds for the establishment and progress of religion in the country were in the hands of the civil authorities, who, as occasion demanded, scrupled not to misappropriate and confiscate largely thereof. The interests of religion, indeed, it is true, were never paramount in the eyes of the Spanish authorities, yet as long as political troubles were unknown the rights of the Fathers were acknowledged and respected, but from the moment the struggle for independence took place the interests of religion were postponed to those of the State.

It will be within the recollection of the reader that at the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the

properties of which they were possessed and which were known under the title of the Pious Fund, were taken charge of by government and farmed for the use of the missions. These properties, which had been the donations of the Catholic faithful for the establishment and maintenance of Catholic missions in the country, yielded at that period an annual revenue of fifty thousand dollars, twenty-four thousand of which were expended in the stipend of the Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, as we have said, and the other twenty-six thousand in mission purposes in general. The first inroad made on these pious donations was about the year 1806, when, to relieve the national wants of the parent country caused by the wars of 1801 and 1804, between Portugal in the one instance and Great Britain in the other, his majesty's fiscal at Mexico scrupled not to confiscate and remit to the authorities in Spain as much as two hundred thousand dollars of the Pious Fund. This, though a considerable sum as regarded the Californian missions, was but little in the eyes of a government, which, later on, in 1839, hesitated not to confiscate at home the whole of the ecclesiastical property to the amount of seventy-eight million dollars.

The Californian missionaries, having up to the present depended for their support and the maintenance of religion in general on the stipends paid them by government, were now for a time thrown

entirely on their own natural resources. Owing to the troubles caused by the insurrectionary movements of which Hidalgo and Morelas were the chiefs, the missionaries failed to receive any of their stipends from 1811 to 1813, and later on, from a similar cause, were deprived of their revenue from 1828 to 1831. At the same time that they were thus deprived of their annual salary and thrown on the resources of the country for their own and the natives support, they were also called upon to furnish supplies to the presidios, for which they were never indemnified. Notwithstanding the difficulties thus placed in the way of the missions, many of them being yet only in an infant condition, their spiritual and temporal interests still continued to be advanced by the zeal and ability of the Fathers. Nothing, indeed, demonstrates more fully and satisfactorily the success that attended the Fathers' exertions during the period of which we are now treating, than the following:

*State of the Missions of Upper California, from 1802
to 1822.*

Name of Mission.	Baptized.	Married.	Died.	Existing.
San Diego.....	5452	1460	3196	1697
San Luis Rey	4024	922	1507	2663
San Juan Capistrano..	3879	1026	2531	1052
Santa Catarina	6906	1638	4635	1593
San Fernando.....	2519	709	1505	1001
.....	3608	973	2608	973
Santa Barbara.....	4917	1288	3224	1010
.....	1195	330	897	582
Purissima Conception	3100	919	2173	764
San Luis Obispo ----	2562	715	1954	467
San Miguel.....	2205	632	1336	926
San Antonio de Padua	4119	1037	317	834
Our Lady of Soledad	1932	584	1333	532
San Carlos.....	3267	912	2432	341
San Juan Bautista ---	3270	823	1853	1222
Santa Cruz	2136	718	1541	499
Santa Clara.....	7324	2056	6565	1394
San José.....	4573	1376	2933	1620
San Francisco.....	6804	2050	5202	958
San Rafael.....	829	244	183	830
Total.....	74621	20412	19725	20958

This, it must be observed, does not include the missions of Lower California, which, in the absence of authentic statistics, if we set down at one half the above, we will then have the considerable number of over one hundred thousand baptized into the Christian religion in California from 1768 to 1822. A happier and more satisfactory result could not be reasonably expected from the labors of the Fathers in the time. No other instance is on record in modern days of so many being brought

to a knowledge of the truth in so limited a period. When, then, to the natural difficulties offered by the country we add those of the wild and uncultivated habits of the natives, the result of the missionaries' labors in this case will doubtless be regarded by all as one of the most remarkable and important recorded in history.

It will not have escaped the notice of the reader that the mortality among the converts was unusually large. From seventy to twenty thousand in the space of a couple of generations is a diminution of unparalleled magnitude. To what this unusually large death-rate should be attributed it might be difficult to say, nor could the Religious themselves assign a positive cause. Syphilis, measles and small-pox carried off numbers, and these diseases, were, in all probability generated by the sudden change in their lives from a free, wandering existence, to a quiet, settled, domestic state. The same had been previously experienced by the Jesuits in Lower California, where great numbers of the converts rapidly died.

The disposition shown toward the missionaries by the Spanish authorities at home during the time they were prosecuting the conversion and reduction of the country, were as impolitic and prejudicial to the true interests of the crown as they were unjust and embarrassing to them. In 1813, when the contest for national independence was being waged on Mexican territory, the

cortes of Spain resolved upon dispensing with the services of the Fathers, by placing the missions in the hands of the secular clergy. The professed object of this secularization scheme was, indeed, the welfare of the Indians and the colonists; but how little this accorded with the real intentions of government, is seen from the seventh section of the decree passed by the cortes, wherein it is stated that one half of the land was to be hypothecated for the payment of the national debt. The decree ordering this commences as follows: "The cortes general and extraordinary, considering that the reduction of common land to private property, is one of the measures most imperiously demanded for the welfare of the pueblos, and the improvement of agriculture and industry, and wishing at the same time to derive from this class of land *aid to relieve the public necessities*, a reward to the worthy defenders of the country and relief to the citizens not proprietors, decree, etc., * without prejudice to the foregoing provisions, one half of the vacant land and lands belonging to the royal patrimony of the monarchy, except the suburbs of the pueblos, is hereby reserved, to be in whole or in part, as may be deemed necessary, hypothecated for the *payment of the national debt*," etc.¹

This decree of the government was not carried out at the time, yet it had its effect on the state and well-being of the missions in general. It

(1) *Hist. Cal. Dwinelle.* (Addenda 41).

could not be expected that with such a resolution under their eyes, the Fathers would be as zealous in developing the natural resources of the country as before, seeing that the result of their labors was at any moment liable to be seized on by government and handed over to strangers. The insecurity thus created naturally acted upon the converts in turns, for when it became apparent that the authority of the missionaries was more nominal than real, a spirit of opposition and independence on the part of the people was the natural result. Even before this determination had been come to on the part of the government, there were not wanting evidences of an evil disposition on the part of some of the people; for as early as 1803, one of the missions had become the scene of a revolt; and earlier still, as we learn from an unpublished correspondence of the Fathers, it was not unusual for some of the converts to abandon the missions and return to their former wandering life. It was customary on those occasions to pursue the deserters and compel them to return. How far such a course was in harmony with the spirit of the gospel and the natural rights of man, viewed on general grounds it may not be easy to see; for conversion from paganism to Christianity is no reason why the liberty of man should be restrained; but when we take into account the true character and disposition of the natives, the course adopted by the Fathers does not appear so entirely unrea-

sonable. A people but newly converted from paganism and barbarism to Christianity and civilization, are yet in the capacity of children, and require to be treated as such, especially when their interests, both spiritual and temporal, are at stake. Had not an impediment been placed in their way, the probabilities are that many, though profiting by their condition, would, to avoid the inconvenience and irksomeness of labor, return to their former condition, and thereby deprive themselves of the blessings of civilization and of religion. By placing an obstacle, then, to this evil, the conduct of the Fathers does not appear to us either unreasonable or cruel.

From the very beginning of the missions, instances of this kind had occurred; nor, indeed, could it be expected to be otherwise; for from among so many thousands but recently reclaimed, there must have been the intractable and self-willed, whose natural tendencies would ever be sure to incline them to their former wandering state. The greatest matter for astonishment, is that the missionaries were enabled to induce so many to renounce their savage condition, and submit to the labors and duties imposed on them at the missions.

Between 1813 and 1825, the general aspect of affairs in California, though satisfactory as regarded the existing state of affairs, was not over encouraging, when viewed in relation to the future. Tak-

ing advantage of the disturbed state of affairs amongst the Mexican people, the Russians had already made a settlement on the coast, at Bodega. Subsequently, about 1820, they formed another at Ross, thirty miles further to the north. The object of these settlements, though ostensibly for fishing and agricultural purposes, were not without their more important designs, and as such were looked upon with suspicion by the Spanish authorities. At the same time, some American vessels appeared off the coast, with what intent it was not difficult to determine. Meantime, the internal state of the missions was becoming more and more complex and disordered. The desertions were more frequent and numerous, the hostility of the unconverted more daring, and the general disposition of the people inclined to revolt. American traders and freebooters had entered the country, spread themselves all over the province, and sowed the seeds of discord and revolt among the inhabitants. Many of the more reckless and evil-minded readily listened to their suggestions, adopted their counsels, and broke out into open hostilities. Their hostile attack was first directed against the mission of Santa Cruz, which they captured and plundered; when they directed their course to Monterey, and, in common with their American friends, attacked and plundered that place. From these and other like occurrences, it was clear that the condition of the missions was

one of the greatest peril. The spirit of discord had spread among the people, hostility to the authority of the Fathers had become common, while desertion from the villages was of frequent and almost constant occurrence. To remedy this unpleasant state of affairs, the military then in the country were entirely inadequate, and so matters continued, with little or no difference, till 1824, when, by the action of the Mexican government, the missions began rapidly to decline.

Two years after Mexico had been formed into a republic, the government authorities began to interfere with the rights of the Fathers and the existing state of affairs. In 1826, instructions were forwarded by the federal government to the authorities in California for the liberation of the Indians. This was followed a few years later by another act of the legislature, ordering the whole of the missions to be secularized and the Religious to withdraw.¹ The ostensible object assigned by the authors of this measure, was the execution of the original plan formed by government. The missions, it was alleged, were never intended to be permanent establishments; they were to give way in the course of some years to the regular ecclesiastical system, when the people would be formed into parishes, attended by a secular clergy. Even admitting this to be true, it is still beyond doubt that the motives which urged the change at a time

(1) See Decree of Congress, at end of vol.

when the country was entirely unprepared for the measure, were other than those assigned by the legislature. "Beneath these specious pretexts," says Dwinelle in his *Colonial History*, "was, undoubtedly, a perfect understanding between the government at Mexico and the leading men in California, that in such a condition of things the supreme government might absorb the pious fund, under the pretence that it was no longer necessary for missionary purposes, and thus had reverted to the State as a *quasi* escheat; while the co-actors in California should appropriate the local wealth of the missions, by the rapid and sure process of administering their temporalities." And again: "These laws (the secularization laws), whose ostensible purpose was to convert the missionary establishments into Indian pueblos, their churches into parish churches, and to elevate the christianized Indians to the rank of citizens were, after all, executed in such a manner that the so-called secularization of the missions *resulted only in their plunder* and complete ruin, and in the demoralization and dispersion of the christianized Indians." ¹

Coming, as this testimony does, from a neutral party, who could have no object in misconstruing the real intentions of government, it shows more clearly than anything else the motives that urged the secularization of the missions. Immediately

(1) See *Colonial Hist.*, Dwinelle.

on receiving the decree of the government, the then acting governor of California, Don José Figueroa, applied himself to the carrying out of its provisions. To this end he had prepared and approved by the legislature certain provisional rules, in accordance with which the alteration in the missionary system was begun.¹ From that moment commenced the utter and absolute ruin of the missions and the country. The long feared and destructive blow had fallen at last. Within a very brief period the happy and satisfactory results of the Fathers' exertions were completely destroyed. The lands, which for years under their care had teemed with abundance, were now handed over to the Indians, only to be neglected and permitted to run into their primitive wild, uncultivated condition. The cattle, of which there were thousands, were also partly divided among the people, and partly among the administrators, for their own personal profit.

It is now proper to examine into the results produced by this action of congress touching the change in the social and religious condition of the people. The effects of the measure will be more clearly observed by contrasting the condition of the people before and after the secularization of the missions. It was the constant, unfailing assertion of the authors of the scheme, that under the new administration the condition of the people

(1) See Governor's Rules at end of vol.

would be materially improved, the population largely increased, and the interests of religion greatly subserved. How far these assertions were borne out in reality, we shall now see.

It has been stated already that in 1822 the entire number of Indians then inhabiting the different missions, amounted to twenty thousand and upwards. To these others were being constantly added, even during those years of political strife which immediately preceded the independence of Mexico, until, in 1836, the numbers amounted to thirty thousand and more. Provided with all the necessaries and comforts of life, instructed in everything requisite for their state in society, and devoutly trained in the duties and requirements of religion, these thirty thousand Californian converts led a peaceful, happy, contented life, strangers to those cares, troubles and anxieties common to higher and more civilized conditions of life. At the same time that their religious condition was one of thankfulness and grateful satisfaction to the Fathers, their worldly position was one of unrivaled abundance and prosperity. Divided between the different missions from San Lucas to San Francisco, close upon one million of live stock belonged to the people. Of these, four hundred thousand were horned cattle, sixty thousand horse, and more than three hundred thousand sheep, goats and swine. The united annual return of the cereals, consisting of wheat, maize, beans, and the

like, was upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand bushels; while at the same time throughout the different missions, the preparation and manufacture of soap, leather, wine, brandy, hides, wool, oil, cotton, hemp, linen, tobacco, salt and soda were largely and extensively cultivated. And to such perfection were these articles brought, that some of them were eagerly sought for and purchased in the principal capitals of Europe.

The material prosperity of the country was further increased by an annual revenue of about one million dollars, the net proceeds of the hides and tallow of one hundred thousand oxen slaughtered annually at the different missions. Another hundred thousand were slaughtered by the settlers for their own private advantage. The revenues on the articles of which there are no specific returns is also supposed to have averaged another million dollars, which, when added to the foregoing, makes the annual revenue of the Californian Catholic missions, at the time of their supremacy, between two and three million dollars. Independent of these, there were the rich and extensive gardens and orchards attached to the missions, exquisitely ornamented and enriched, in many instances, with a great variety of European and tropical fruit trees, plums, bananas, oranges, olives and figs; added to which were the numerous and fertile vineyards, rivaling in the quantity and quality of the grape those of the old countries of Europe, and all used

for the comfort and maintenance of the natives. In a word, the happy results, both spiritual and temporal, produced in Upper California by the spiritual children of St. Francis during the sixty years of their missionary career, were such as have rarely been equaled and never surpassed in modern times. In a country naturally salubrious, and it must be admitted fertile beyond many parts of the world, yet presenting at the outset numerous obstacles to the labors of the missionary, the Fathers succeeded in establishing at regular distances along the coast as many as one-and-twenty missionary establishments. Into these holy retreats their zeal and ability enabled them to gather the whole of the indigenous race, with the exception of a few wandering tribes, who, it is only reasonable to suppose, would also have followed the example of their brethren, had not the labors of the Fathers been dispensed with by the civil authorities. There, in those peaceful, happy abodes, abounding in more than the ordinary enjoyment of things, spiritual and temporal, thirty thousand faithful, simple-hearted Indians passed their days in the practice of virtue and the improvement of the country. From a wandering, savage, uncultivated race, unconscious as well of the God who created them as the end for which they were made, they became, after the advent of the Fathers, a civilized, domestic, Christian people, whose morals were as pure as their lives were simple. Daily attendance

at the holy sacrifice of the mass, morning and night prayer, confession and communion at stated times—the true worship, in a word, of the Deity, succeeded the listless, aimless life, the rude pagan games and the illicit amours. The plains and valleys, which for centuries lay uncultivated and unproductive, now teemed under an abundance of every species of corn; the hills and plains were covered with stock; the fig tree, the olive and the vine yielded their rich abundance; while lying in the harbors, waiting to carry to foreign markets the rich products of the country, might be seen numerous vessels from different parts of the world. Such was the happy and prosperous condition of the country under the missionary rule; and with this the reader is requested to contrast the condition of the people after the removal of the Religious, and the transfer of power to the secular authorities. From the statistical tables given above, we have learned that the increase in the number of Christians from 1802 to 1822, was over five thousand. From then till the banishment of the Fathers, the progress was still greater, for, as has been remarked, the numbers at the time of secularization were thirty thousand and upwards.

In 1833, the decree for the liberation of the Indians was passed by the Mexican congress, and put in force on the following year. The dispersion and demoralization of the people was the immediate result. Within eight years after the exe-

cution of the decree, the number of Christians diminished from thirty thousand six hundred and fifty to four thousand four hundred and fifty! Some of the missions, which in 1834 had as many as one thousand five hundred souls, numbered only a few hundred in 1842. The two missions of San Rafael and San Francisco Solano decreased respectively within this period from one thousand two hundred and fifty and one thousand three hundred, to twenty and seventy! A like diminution was observed in the cattle and general products of the country. Of the eight hundred and eight thousand head of live stock belonging to the missions at the date above-mentioned, only sixty-three thousand and twenty remained in 1842. The diminution in the cereals was equally striking; it fell from seventy to four thousand hectolitres. Nothing could show more satisfactorily the superiority of the Religious over the civil administration than the above, for here we have brought under our notice the most deplorable diminution in the number of the inhabitants and the material prosperity of the country. By descending to particular instances, this will become even more manifest still. At one period during the supremacy of the Fathers, the principal mission of the country (San Diego), produced as much as six thousand fanegas of wheat, and an equal quantity of maize; but in 1842 the return for this mission was only eighteen hundred fanegas in all. Sixty barrels of wine and

brandy were annually produced from the vineyard; a cotton and woolen factory turned out large quantities of stuffs, while a tannery and soap factory added to the general prosperity. A little while after and all these sources of wealth were entirely abandoned and ceased to exist. In the mission of St. John Capistrano, once one of the most flourishing establishments on the coast, possessing a Christian population of over two thousand, rich in herds to the extent of seventy thousand horned cattle, two thousand horse, and more than ten thousand sheep, with an annual return of ten thousand fanegas of corn and oil, and five hundred barrels of wine and brandy, the ruin was such at the time of which we speak, that of the two thousand Indians only *one hundred* remained; of the seventy thousand horned cattle only five hundred; of the horse one hundred, and not a single sheep at all! The harvest returns for the same time were three hundred fanegas of grain and fifty barrels of wine, instead of two thousand of the former and five hundred of the latter.

The mission of St. Gabriel, founded in 1771 by the venerable Father Junipero Serra, at the epoch of its opulence counted as many as three thousand Indians, one hundred and five thousand oxen, twenty thousand horse, and more than forty thousand sheep, together with harvest returns of twenty thousand fanegas of different species of grain, and five hundred barrels of wine and brandy;

but reduced under the civil administration to five hundred Indians, seven hundred oxen, five hundred horse, and three thousand five hundred sheep. Attached to this mission, and farmed for the benefit of the natives, were seventeen extensive ranches. Two hundred pairs of bullocks, and several hundred Indians, were constantly employed in tilling the land. With such temporal prosperity well-regulated and improved by the Fathers, it is easy to conceive the happy and enviable condition of the natives. In the treasury of the last-mentioned mission at the time of the confiscation were one hundred thousand piastres; and in the warehouses for the use of the natives, as much as two hundred thousand francs worth of European merchandise—all which fell into the hands of the administrators, and were appropriated by them. The devastation of the other establishments was on a scale equally great, as the reader may learn from the following tabular statistics:

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE MISSIONS OF UPPER CALIFORNIA UNDER THE RELIGIOUS ADMINISTRATION IN 1834, AND UNDER THE CIVIL IN 1842.

Names of the Missions.	Time of Foundation.	Distance from preceding Leagues.	Number of Indians.		Number of Horned Cattle.		Number of Horses.		Number of Sheep, Goats and Swine.		Harvest.
			1834.	1842.	1834.	1842.	1834.	1842.	1834.	1842.	
San Diego.....	June 16, 1769.	17	2,500	500	12,000	20	1,800	100	17,000	200	13,000
San Luis Rey.....	June 13, 1798.	14	3,500	650	80,000	2,800	10,000	400	100,000	4,000	14,000
San Juan Capistrano....	Nov. 1, 1776.	13	1,700	100	70,000	500	1,900	150	10,000	200	10,000
San Gabriel.....	Sept. 8, 1771.	18	2,700	500	105,000	700	20,000	500	40,000	3,500	20,000
San Fernando.....	Sept. 8, 1797.	9	1,500	400	14,000	1,500	5,000	400	7,000	2,000	8,000
San Buenaventura.....	March 31, 1782	18	1,100	300	4,000	200	1,000	40	6,000	400	3,000
Santa Barbara.....	Dec. 4, 1786.	12	1,200	400	5,000	1,800	1,200	180	5,000	400	3,000
Santa Inéz.....	Sept. 17, 1804.	8	1,300	250	14,000	10,000	1,200	500	12,000	4,000	3,500
La Purissima Concepcion.	Dec. 8, 1787.	8	900	60	15,000	800	2,000	300	14,000	3,500	6,000
San Luis Obispo.....	Sept. 1, 1771.	18	1,250	80	9,000	300	4,000	200	7,000	800	4,000
San Miguel.....	July 25, 1797.	13	1,200	30	4,000	40	2,500	50	10,000	400	2,500
San Antonio.....	July 14, 1771.	13	1,400	150	12,000	800	2,000	500	14,000	2,000	3,000
N. S. de la Soledad.....	Oct. 9, 1791.	11	700	20	6,000	..	1,200	..	7,000	..	2,500
Mission del Carmel.....	June 3, 1770.	15	500	40	3,000	..	700	..	7,000	..	1,500
San Juan Bautista.....	June 24, 1799.	14	1,450	80	9,000	..	1,200	..	9,000	..	3,500
Santa Cruz.....	Aug. 28, 1791.	17	600	50	8,000	..	800	..	10,000	..	2,500
Santa Clara.....	Jan. 18, 1777.	11	1,800	300	13,000	1,500	1,200	250	15,000	3,000	6,000
San José.....	June 18, 1797.	7	2,300	400	2,400	8,000	1,100	200	19,000	7,000	10,000
Dolores de San Francisco.	Oct. 9, 1776.	18	500	50	5,000	60	1,600	50	4,000	200	2,500
San Rafael.....	Dec. 18, 1817.	8	1,250	20	3,000	..	500	..	4,500	..	1,500
San Francisco Solano....	Aug. 25, 1823.	13	1,300	70	3,000	..	700	..	4,000	..	3,000
21 Missions, upon a dis- tance of 263 leagues.			30,600	4,450	424,000	28,220	62,500	3,800	321,500	31,600	122,500 bush.

In the foregoing, the reader has an incontrovertible proof of the superiority of the Religious over the civil administration. By these figures we see that as long as the Fathers were unmolested in the discharge of their duty, the country advanced rapidly on the road of prosperity and numbers; but, on the other hand, as soon as the civil authorities took the management of affairs into their hands, ruin and demoralization were the consequence. To this the following unimpeachable writers also bear unequivocal testimony. Speaking of the change that happened in the country, Wilkes, one of the exploring expedition sent out by the American government in 1842, says: "At the same time with a change of rulers, the country was deprived of the religious establishments *upon which its society and good order were founded*. Anarchy and confusion began to reign, and the want of authority was everywhere felt; some of the missions were deserted; the property which had been amassed in them was dissipated, and the Indians *turned out to seek their native wilds*. This act (the secularization act) brought about the ruin of the missions, and the property that was still left became a prey to the rapacity of the governor, the needy officers and the administrador, who have well-nigh consumed all." And again: "Nothing can be in a worse state than the low offices, such as the *alcalde*, etc. They are now held by ignorant men, who have no idea of justice, which is generally administered

according to the alcalde's individual notions, as his feelings may be enlisted or the standing of the parties. To recover a debt by legal means is considered as beyond possibility, and creditors must wait until the debtor is disposed to pay. Until lately the *word of a Californian* was sufficient to ensure the payment of claims upon him; but such has been the *moral degradation* which has fallen upon the people, since the missions have been robbed by the authorities, and the old priests driven out, that no reliance can now be placed upon their promises, and all those who have lately trusted them complain that engagements are not regarded, and that it is next to impossible for any to obtain any return for any goods that have been delivered."¹ Contrasted with that, as showing the justice and security under the missionary rule, is the testimony of a by no means partial historian. Speaking of the state of affairs while in the hands of the missionaries, Alexander Forbes, in his *History of Upper California*, says: "Much credit is unquestionably due to them (the Fathers), and the result exhibits in a striking point of view the efficacy of the system followed by the Fathers, more especially when compared with that adopted by missionaries in other countries. * * * There are, I fear, few examples to be found, where men enjoying unlimited confidence and power, have not abused them. And yet I have *never heard* that the

(1) *Wilkes' Exploring Expedition* : p. 161.

missionaries of California have not acted with the most perfect fidelity, that they *ever betrayed their trust or exercised inhumanity* ; and the testimony of all travelers who have visited this country, is uniformly to the same effect. On the contrary," continues the same author, "there are recorded instances of the most extraordinary zeal, industry and philanthropy in the conduct of those men. Since the country has been opened, strangers have found at their missions the most generous and disinterested hospitality, protection and kindness ; and this without one solitary instance to the contrary that I have ever heard of." He then goes on to describe the character of one of the Fathers: "He (Father Peyri) first built a small thatched cottage, and asked for a few cattle and Indians from the mission. After a constant residence of thirty-four years at this place (the mission of San Luis Rey) he left it stocked with nearly sixty thousand head of domesticated animals of all sorts, and yielding an annual produce of about thirteen thousand bushels of grain, while the population amounted to nearly three thousand Indians ! He left also a complete set of buildings, including a church with enclosures, etc. Yet, after these thirty-four years of incessant labor, in which he expended the most valuable part of his life, the worthy Peyri left his mission with only what he judged to be sufficient means to enable him to join his convent in the city of Mexico, where he threw

himself upon the charity of his order. The toil of managing such an establishment would be sufficient motive for a man of Father Peyri's age to retire; but the new order of things, which has introduced new men and new measures—when the political power has been entrusted to heads not over-wise and to hands not over-pure, when the theoretical doctrine of liberty and equality have been preached while oppression and rapine have been practiced—has doubtless accelerated his resignation. Whatever his motives may have been, his voluntary retirement into poverty to spend his remaining days in pious exercises, must be applauded by the religious, and his noble disinterestedness by all. At his mission, strangers of all countries and modes of faith, as well as his fellow-subjects, found always a hearty welcome and the utmost hospitality.

Many of my countrymen and personal friends have related to me, with enthusiasm, the kindness and protection which they have received at his hands; boons which are doubly valuable where places of entertainment do not exist, and where security is not firmly established.”¹

Dwinelle, in his *Colonial History of San Francisco*, is equally explicit: “The results of the mission scheme of Christianization and colonization were such as to justify the plans of the wise statesmen

(1) *Hist. of Upper and Lower California*, Alexander Forbes; p. 228, 529.

who hitherto devised it and to gladden the hearts of the pious men who devoted their lives to its execution. * * * If we ask where are now the thirty thousand Christianized Indians, who once *enjoyed the beneficence and created the wealth* of the twenty-one Catholic missions of California, and then contemplate *the most wretched* of all want of system, which has succeeded them under our own government (American), we shall not withhold our admiration from those good and devoted men, who, with such wisdom, sagacity and self-sacrifice, reared these wonderful institutions in the wilderness of California. *They*, at least, would have preserved these Indian races, if they had been left to pursue unmolested their work of pious beneficence.”¹

With the ruin of the missions and the dispersion of the natives came also the ill-treatment and cruelty of the Religious. The arrangements made for supplying the place of the Fathers not being equal to the emergency, the neophytes were in several instances entirely abandoned and deprived of the services of religion. Those of the missionaries, on the other hand, who had obtained permission to remain on taking the oath of allegiance to the new constitution, were treated with uniform insult, indignity and affront. Deprived of their former authority and position they became the dependents of those who before were only their

(1) *Colonial Hist. of San Francisco*: Dwinelle ; pp. 44, 87.

underlings, and, strange to consider, these very men, when raised above the heads of their masters, treated them more in the character of menials than ministers of religion. "We have seen," says De Mofras, "the Rev. Father Gonzales obliged to sit at the table of the administrator, and to suffer the rudeness of *cowherds* and majordomos, who but a few years before esteemed themselves happy to enter the service of the monks as domestics."¹ Speaking of the mission of St. Anthony, the same writer says: "The only Religious who still inhabit San Antonio, the Rev. Father Gutierrez gave us the most hospitable reception; and we saw with indignation that an ancient domestic who had become administrator of the mission took advantage of the paralytic state of this ecclesiastic to put him on rations and even refuse him the actual necessities of life." Of the reduced state of the mission of San Luis Obispo, he says: "In the building, at present (1842) in ruins, we found reduced to the greatest misery the oldest Spanish Franciscan of all California, the Rev. Father Raman Abella Araegonais, who saw the illustrious Peyrouse in 1787. The mission has suffered such devastation that this poor Religious slept on an oxhide, drank out of a horn, and had only for his food *some morsels of meat dried in the sun!* This venerable Father distributed the little that was sent him among the Indian children, who still in-

(1) Vol. 1, p. 342.

habit, with their families, the tottering hovels attached to the mission. Several charitable persons, as well as Father Duran, have offered an asylum to Father Abella, but he always refuses and declares that he wishes to die at his post. This worthy man, who has founded several missions to the north, is almost sixty years in the apostleship and speaks still of going to the conquest of souls, while at the same time in an age so advanced he supports without murmur the humiliation and privation which poverty brings."

More remarkable than the foregoing as showing the heartlessness and rapacity of the civil administrators on the one hand, and the heroic zeal and devotion to duty of the missionaries on the other, is the case of the Rev. Father Sarria, who died of starvation at the mission of Soledad in the year 1838. The circumstances connected with the venerable man's death are these: The mission of Soledad, of which Father Sarria was pastor, was founded in the year 1791. It was once a flourishing Christian settlement, possessing its hundreds of converts and thousands of cattle. Want had never been known there from the time of its foundation up to the moment of confiscation. Immediately upon the change, however, so great was the plunder and devastation of everything belonging to the mission that the Father, who remained at his post with a few of the Indians, was unable to obtain the ordinary necessities of life, yet re-

duced as he was to the greatest extremity, he would not abandon the remnant of his flock. For thirty years he had labored among them, and now, if necessary, he was ready to die in their behalf. Broken down by years and exhausted by hunger, one Sunday morning in the month of August of the above mentioned year, the holy old man assembled in his little church the few converts that remained to him. It was the last time he was to appear before them. Hardly had he commenced the holy sacrifice of the Mass when his strength completely failed him; he fell before the altar and expired in the arms of his people, for whom he so zealously and earnestly labored. Noble and worthy death of a Spanish missionary priest.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT CONFISCATES THE CHURCH PROPERTY, OR PIOUS FUND, OF CALIFORNIA. — ITS HISTORY. — EFFECTS OF CONFISCATION. — ANARCHY. — REVOLUTION IN 1836. — ALVARADO AS LEADER. — IS OPPOSED BY CASTILLERO. — CARILLO APPOINTED GOVERNOR. — PLOT FOR THE OVERTHROW OF ALVARADO. — CONSPIRATORS CAPTURED. — THEIR TREATMENT. — MICHELTORENA ARRIVES. — HE RESTORES THE MISSIONS TO THE RELIGIOUS. — GOVERNMENT DISSATISFIED AT THE PROGRESS BEING MADE. — ORDERS THEM TO BE SOLD. — THE EXTINCTION OF THE NATIVE CHURCH. — UPPER CALIFORNIA ANNEXED BY AMERICA.

WHILE the things spoken of in the preceding chapter were being enacted in California, the Mexican government on its part was equally active in depriving the missions of those hereditary estates which the piety and liberality of the faithful had charitably donated for the exclusive establishment and maintenance of religion in the country. Under the plea that the missions were no longer in need of external support, the congress of Mexico, by a decree passed on the twenty-fifth of May, 1832, empowered the executive to rent out all the mission properties for a period of seven years, the proceeds to be paid into the national treasury. By virtue of this decree the fifty thousand dollars paid annually to the Fathers passed to the use of the government. The other acts of this congress respecting the status and liberty of the Mexican

Church were equally arbitrary and rapacious. After having abrogated the authority of the sovereign Pontiff, suppressed the convents of the Religious, and abolished the compulsory payment of titles, they ended by proposing to the nation the confiscation of the entire property of the Church for the liquidation of the national debt. A measure so radical and irreligious produced results entirely different from what its authors had contemplated. The country being unprepared for such a scheme, the national conscience was rudely shocked, and a revolution which ended in the abrogation of the constitution of 1824, and the formation of a consolidated republic, of which Santa Anna became president, was the result. This was in 1835, and in the following year the new congress, more Catholic and conscientious than its predecessor, restored to the ecclesiastical authorities of California the whole of the mission property, or pious fund, to be employed according to the original intentions of the donors. The pious fund thus restored to its original purpose was administered by the ecclesiastical authorities till 1842, when the provisional president, General Santa Anna, deprived the bishop, Right Rev. Dr. Diego, of its administration, and entrusted it to General Valencia. This was only preparatory to its entire appropriation, for in the same year, 1842, the same unscrupulous functionary, Santa Anna, sold the whole to the mercantile firm of Barrio & Rubio for

a sum known only to the contracting parties. "Bold," says de Mofras, "by the very excess of weakness, the Mexican government recoiled from no arbitrary measure to supply its financial deficits. Thus it has not hesitated to seize the property belonging to the missions of California, whose value was not less than *two million dollars*." The illegality and injustice of this act will be better understood by the reader on learning the history of this ecclesiastical property, or pious fund, as it was more generally known.

The pious fund of California was the aggregate sums donated by Catholics for the establishment and maintenance of missions in Lower and Upper California. It dates from the end of the seventeenth century. In the beginning of the year 1697, before the royal warrants had yet been obtained by the Jesuit Fathers for the reduction of California, Father Salva Tierra proceeded to Mexico, by permission of his superiors, for the purpose of collecting funds for the establishment of missions in the country. Amongst those who subscribed largely to the Father on this occasion, were Don Alonso Davolas, Count de Mira Vallez, and Don Matheo Fernandez de la Cruz, who donated two thousand dollars. This, with the other private subscriptions collected by the Father, amounted in all to the sum of fifteen thousand dollars. At the same time the congregation of Our Lady of Doulours gave eight thousand dollars

as a fund for one mission, to which they afterwards added a donation of two thousand dollars more, as nothing short of ten thousand dollars sufficed for the establishment and maintenance of each mission.

During the same year, Don Juan Cavallero y Ozio, a devout and wealthy priest of the city of Querataro, subscribed twenty thousand crowns for the establishment of two other missions, which, added to the sums already mentioned, constituted the beginning of what was afterwards known as the Pious Fund of California.

On the fifth of February, 1697, the royal warrants were issued to Father Tierra, and two days later, on the seventh of the same month, he left Mexico and set out for California, where he arrived in the same year. For the next few years the missions were in a very struggling condition, Father Kühno, who was in Sonora, collected what subscriptions he could, and sent them to his brother Religious.

The next important donation made to the missions, was in 1702, by Don Joseph de la Puente. Marquis de Villa Puente, who subscribed for the establishment of three missions; while Don Nicolas de Artega and his lady founded another, which made the sum equal to forty thousand dollars. To these, other donations were being constantly added, till in 1716, the aggregate sums collected from all sources amounted to one million two hundred and seventy-three thousand dollars, of which only

eighteen thousand dollars had been received from government. It is to be observed that these donations and all others of a like nature afterwards subscribed, were given not only for the establishment, but also for the maintenance of the missions *in perpetuum*.

Up to this, several of the large sums subscribed for the establishment of missions, remained in the hands of the donors, the interest only being annually remitted to the Fathers. The insecurity of this system was seen, by the failure of one of the contributors, Don Lopez, by which ten thousand dollars were lost to the fathers, and one mission left entirely without funds. To avoid the recurrence of a like disaster, it was thought more prudent to call in all the promised donations, and invest them in land and other real estate, the annual revenue of which would serve for the maintenance of the missions. This was accordingly done, and the ranches of Guadaloupe, Huateca and Huapango, were purchased from the proceeds. To these were afterwards added the landed estate of San Pedro Torreon, Rincon and Galandrinas, with several mines, manufactories, flocks and more than five hundred square leagues of land in the province of Tamaulipas.¹

It would not be easy to determine the exact amount the above lands, mines, etc., may have represented. Up to 1768, they remained under

(1) Vide *De Mofras*, vol. I., p. 278; *Colonial Hist. Cal.*, Dwinelle; p. 45.

the control of the Jesuit Fathers; but on the expulsion of these Religious, they were taken charge of by the Spanish civil authorities, and farmed for the benefit of the missions. They yielded at this period an annual revenue of fifty thousand dollars.¹ Twenty-four thousand of this was expended in the stipend of the Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, and twenty-six thousand for mission purposes in general. This arrangement lasted up to 1827, from which period up to 1818, and again from 1828 to 1831, the missionaries did not receive their stipend, owing to the political troubles in Spain and Mexico at these periods. If we take, then, those years during which the civil authorities did not remit to the Fathers any of the annual fifty thousand, we obtain an aggregate sum of five hundred thousand dollars. To this must be added two hundred thousand dollars, appropriated by the king's fiscal, in 1806, seventy-eight thousand dollars forcibly seized by government in 1827, and two hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars, the value of goods supplied by the Fathers to the presidios, for which they were never paid. All these, taken as one, show the indebtedness of the Mexican government, from this source alone, to the Catholic missions of California to be one million five hundred thousand dollars. Then there were the large mission estates confiscated by the congress of Jalisco, which may be set down at

(1) Vide *De Mostras*, vol. 1., p. 266-268.

one hundred and fifty thousand dollars ; and finally, all the live stock belonging to the missions at the time of the secularization ; representing, according to the fairest estimate, three millions of dollars, all lost to the Fathers by an Act of Congress, which placed them in the hands of administrators, who administered them as Congress administered the estates of the Church or the Pious Fund. The actual indebtedness, then, of the Mexican government to the Catholic missions of California, stands thus :

1. Neglect to pay the annual church revenue of fifty thousand dollars, from 1811 to 1818; and from 1828 to 1831	\$500,000
2. Appropriated in 1806 for the use of the Spanish government.....	200,000
3. Forcibly seized in the mint in Mexico in 1827 by government.....	78,000
4. Articles supplied to the Presidios.....	272,000
5. Estates confiscated by the congress of Jalisco.....	150,000
6. Interest on these sums	600,000
7. Interest of the pious fund for four years, from 1832 to 1836, during which time the annual revenue of fifty thousand dollars were paid into the national treasury.....	200,000
8. Sale of the Pious Fund.....	2,000,000
9. Interest on the Pious Fund from its confiscation in 1842, at the rate of five per cent.	2,800,000
10. Confiscation of the live stock.....	3,000,000
11. Interest on this amount from 1842 to 1870.	4,200,000

Total indebtedness of the Mexican government
to the Catholic Church of California.....\$12,200,000

The loss to the Church of the pious fund was most injurious to the missions. Already they had been ruined almost beyond the hope of a remedy by the previous action of congress. As long, however, as this property remained to them, they had at least something to hope for, though it might be only a precarious support, but this no longer at their command, nothing awaited them in the future but poverty and neglect. Nor was this all that the native Christian congregations had to complain of at this time. Following the example set them by government, the white population in several instances laid violent hands on the lands and the stock of the converts, giving them nothing in return but ill-usage and abuse if they dared to complain. Thus injured and thwarted by government and private individuals, the people assumed an attitude of defence; and then began that system of retaliation which for several years, from 1834, kept the country in a state of continual anarchy. Returning to their mountain fastnesses, the Indians instituted a kind of predatory warfare against their oppressors; carrying off, in some instances, their cattle and provisions, and in others, what was dearer to them than both, their wives and their daughters. Being thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the country, and expert in horsemanship from their earliest years, they had a decided advantage over the whites; yet the latter naturally resented the lawlessness, and retaliated by carry-

ing fire and sword into their locality. On some of these occasions whole villages were destroyed, and deeds of rapine and reckless atrocity committed, of which it is better to be silent.

At the same time a spirit of revolt was growing in the minds of the whites against their Mexican masters. Ostensibly with a view of gaining their independence, but in reality with the object of plunder and personal aggrandizement, a few daring conspirators raised the standard of revolt in 1836, seized upon Monterey, and declared the country independent of Mexico. Those who first engaged in the scheme were, indeed, only few. Thirty American riflemen, under the command of one Graham, from Tennessee, and sixty mounted Californians, commanded by Castro, but all under the direction of Alvarado, a native of the country, composed the entire revolutionary force. Angel Ramirez and Don Cosme Pena, both Mexican officials, were also engaged in the movement, and charged with its interest. The party first marched on the capital, where they arrived on the second November. Their first care was to obtain possession of the battery which commanded the bay, and might be made to play upon the city and presidio. In this they met with no opposition, probably because of their coming being a secret; but as no ammunition fell into their hands, their success was not all they anticipated. The necessary material, however, was quickly supplied them by three

American vessels then in the port, while the requisite commissariat was also provided by American citizens. Gutierrez, the governor, with seventy men under his command, ignominiously shut himself up in the fort, and awaited an attack. Thus, comparatively secure, he might at least have made a certain show of defence; but the mere presence of the enemy seems to have been too much for his nerves, for, at the first shot from their camp, he demanded a parley and capitulated on certain favorable conditions.¹ The conditions, however, were never observed, for, as soon as the rebels found themselves masters of the situation, forgetful of the stipulated agreement, they deported the governor and his officials to Lower California. Then became apparent the contradictory spirit by which the revolutionary leaders were animated. Faithful to the instincts of their race, the Americans endeavored to persuade the Californians to demand admission into the Union. Alvarado, Peña and Ramirez, on the other hand, were opposed to this course, and eventually succeeded in preventing its adoption. Meantime, Alvarado, who had directed the movements from the beginning, was not idle in his own interest. By his influence and popularity, he succeeded in getting himself appointed to the position of governor in the place of Gutierrez.

Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo obtained the

(1) De Mofras says that Gutierrez was abandoned by his troops; if so, he cannot be charged with cowardice.

position of military commandant-general, the office of prefect being conferred upon Don José Castro, an officer of police. The chief offices being thus filled, and a shadow of constitutional government established, the country was formally erected into a *free and sovereign state*; but only conditionally, provisions being made that in case the then existing central government of Mexico were overthrown, and a federal constitution adopted in its stead, California should enter the confederation with the other states.

The events that thus occurred at the capital, though important as respected the community, did not immediately put the country into the hands of the party. The inhabitants of Santa Barbara and Los Angeles refused to acknowledge the change, but Alvarado was not the man to brook opposition, and accordingly marched upon the first mentioned place with a body of followers. He was met by Castillero, who, though at the head of a much larger command, was yet fearful of risking an engagement, and came to terms with his opponent. In accordance with the provisions of the agreement it was arranged that Alvarado should recognize the existing central constitution of Mexico, be proclaimed political chief, *pro tem.*, and that Castillero should proceed to Mexico to arrange matters with government as deputy to congress, with a salary of three thousand piastres a year. The terms of the agreement were, indeed,

favorable to the contracting parties, and cannot fail to excite a smile on the countenance of the reader. The fact of the leader of the revolution proposing terms to the legitimate rulers, and expecting to be confirmed in his position by them, is not often to be met with in the pages of history.

In effect Castellero set out for the capital, but not content with confining himself to the object of his mission, he found leisure and means of intriguing against the interests of the Religious and their flocks. The little wealth and authority which the Fathers still retained were the objects of his unscrupulous avarice, nor was he at a loss for assistants to carry out his unholy design. Influenced by the accounts which he furnished of the still existing riches of the missions, the government passed a law, on the seventeenth of August, 1837, completely depriving the Religious of the temporal administration, and placing it in the hands of the governor. Touching the direct mission of the deputy, it could not be expected that government, however weak and unable to maintain its authority, would confirm the position of Alvarado as governor; and we accordingly find the nomination of Don Carlos Carillo, a former deputy to congress, to that post. Alvarado, thus disappointed in his expectations from congress, determined to maintain his position by an appeal to arms. He accordingly put himself at the head of a number of his followers, amounting to fifty or

more, Americans and Californians, and marched against the new governor, then in possession of Santa Barbara. Carillo, though supported by a larger number of troops, was fearful of risking a battle, knowing the qualities of the American sharpshooters as marksmen. He accordingly retired from the field without coming to an engagement, and left Alvarado master of the position. Inconceivable as it may appear, the Mexican government, on learning the state of affairs, confirmed Alvarado in his position of constitutional governor, unmindful of the fact that he had been the leader of the rebellion—had declared the country independent—was desirous of handing it over to strangers, and had driven from their posts the two governors, Gutierrez and Carillo, duly appointed by congress.

This weak, undignified conduct, in recognizing and confirming the power and authority of a rebel, is sufficient to indicate to the reader the impotent state of the republic at the time.

As may be expected, Alvarado, in gratitude for the part his adherents had taken in raising him to power, was not slow in rewarding them for their services. Upon his English and American supporters he bestowed grants of land, money and stock confiscated from the missions. Graham, the captain of the band, obtained as his share a landed estate and two hundred mules. Alvarado, himself, was only too ready to take advantage of the

provisions of the law made in his favor, constituting him temporal administrator, whereby he was enabled to appropriate to his own use a considerable part of the cattle of the mission of Carmelo, and the moneys resulting from the sale of the live stock, vineyards and houses of Our Lady of Soledad. To the commandant, General Vallejo, fell the goods and stock of the missions of San Rafael and San Francisco Solano; while to Castro, the prefect of Monterey, was given all the movable and immovable property of the mission of San Juan Bautista.

Thus, under the sanction and by the approval of Congress, these revolutionary agents laid violent hands upon the remaining public and private property of the missions, and unscrupulously appropriated it to their own personal use. To the memory, however, of Alvarado, it must be acknowledged, that though ambitious and unscrupulous, when his own and his party's interests were at stake, he had, withal, sufficient honor and conscience to endeavor to restrain within bounds the utterly shameless proceedings of the other administrators, in whose hands the management of the missions had been placed since 1833. Hence, with the view of preventing speculation, and of providing for the better interests of the natives, he issued a regulation in January of 1837, limiting the powers of the administrators, and obliging them to furnish their accounts to the government. But

this proving unavailing, the office was abolished, and substituted by that of mayordomo.

Meanwhile, Alvarado's own position was becoming more and more critical. As generally happens in revolutionary outbursts, when the leaders consider their services unfairly remunerated, a counter revolution is generally the result; so, in this instance, the governor's English and American supporters, deeming themselves sorely aggrieved, formed another conspiracy for overthrowing the government and making California independent, with the ultimate object of obtaining for her admission into the Union. The conspirators, who numbered in all six-and-forty persons, twenty-five English, chiefly deserters from the vessels then lying in the harbor, and twenty-one Americans, were commanded by Graham. Immediately before the execution of the design, one of the conspirators, Garner, influenced by the hope of obtaining a considerable reward, betrayed his companions, by informing the governor. Alvarado was not slow in taking the necessary measures to prevent the success of the plot. The limited number of troops at his command, and the unreliableness of those he might be able to press into the service, showed him the necessity of avoiding an open engagement. To surprise the conspirators, capture them in their assembly, and banish them the country, seemed the most prudent and certain of success. A company of soldiers, com-

manded by Castro, was accordingly dispatched for the town of Monterey, near which the chiefs of the revolutionary party were then known to be assembled. After marching some miles into the country under the guidance of the informer, they arrived at the hut where the conspirators were gathered. The night being far advanced, the men had retired to rest, and while utterly unconscious of the danger in which they were placed, a volley was poured into their midst, which resulted in the disablement of the majority. One, who attempted to escape, was cut down by a blow of a sabre, and the others, seeing the inutility of resistance, submitted to their captors, and were conducted, as prisoners, to the governor. This utterly barbarous act Castro attempted to justify, by alleging the danger his men would be in by an open engagement. Of the conspirators, who were composed of Americans, English and French, only a few obtained their release. The others, without any investigation or trial, were immediately put on board a corvette, and deported to San Blas, whence they were sent to Tepic, a town in the interior, where they were treated as convicts. This arbitrary proceeding on the part of Alvarado, evoked from the English and American representatives a strong reclamation. Bustamante, president of the republic at the time, was alarmed, and ordered the prisoners to be released and returned to California at the public expense. He further ordered

them an indemnity of three piastres a day for the loss of their time, but did not give any instructions for reimbursing them for the loss of any property they may have sustained in consequence of their arrest. At the representation, however, of the English and American consuls, one hundred and fifty-three thousand piastres were afterwards granted them.

Enraged against Castro and Alvarado, by whom they had been arrested and maltreated, the returned prisoners no sooner found themselves back in the country, than they applied themselves with still greater energy to carrying out their original plan. The only obstacle that impeded their purpose was the fear lest in renewing the attempt, they would not be supported by the American authorities. Meanwhile, the governor continued at the head of affairs, there being none to oppose him directly but a spirited Dominican Religious, Father Gabriel, of Lower California, who, at the head of his people, offered a feeble resistance, while attempting to prevent the entire spoliation of his mission. Though thus successful in opposing the authority of government and private individuals, the governor's position was by no means secure. In 1841, as has been remarked, several Americans, allured by the favorable accounts of the country, arrived in California. The presence of these men, at that particular juncture, was the cause of the greatest anxiety to the authorities.

The old animosity that existed in the minds of the outraged American and English conspirators, was sure to be revived, and an attempt at retaliation essayed, now that the party had little to fear. Fearing the consequences almost certain to result from another revolt, Alvarado demanded reinforcements from Mexico; but the only assistance he received was that of three hundred convicts, drawn from the Mexican prisons; and who, it was thought, in gratitude for their deliverance, would prove themselves the guardians of peace! The president, Santa Anna, at the same time removed Alvarado from the office of governor, and appointed in his stead the general of brigade, Don Manuel Micheltorena; but the latter had hardly arrived in the country, when he learned that Monterey had fallen into the hands of the Americans. The commander of the United States squadron then in the Pacific, Commodore Catesby Jones, in the belief that war had broken out between his country and Mexico, hastened to Monterey, and on the twentieth of October, 1842, took possession of the city, hoisted the American colors, and issued a proclamation declaring the country a part of the republic. Four-and-twenty hours later, when the news of the still existing peaceful relations between the two countries arrived, the commodore had the mortification of being necessitated to lower his flag and to apologize for his conduct.

It was now clear that California was liable at

any moment to pass from under Mexican rule, and to become an integral portion of the American nation. At the first intimation of war, the commodore was sure to repeat his former proceeding, and take possession of the country in the name of his nation. The only thing that could have prevented such a result, would be the cession of the country to some other nation. Nor was this, at the moment, very unlikely; for it had been seriously contemplated by government to hand over both Californias to the British authorities, in lieu of the debts due by the republic to the subjects of Great Britain. This, however, was prevented by the immediate turn of events; and, indeed, even if ceded, it is almost certain that America would have ultimately claimed it as her own—a proceeding which would have given rise to hostilities, and a deplorable war between the two nations.

One of the first acts of the new governor, on entering on the duties of his office, was the restoration of the missions to the Religious. On examining into the state of affairs, and the requirements of the country, he was persuaded that tranquillity and prosperity could only be expected by a return to the original system. This, though a politic and statesmanlike view, was unequal to the occasion; it came too late, the missions were ruined beyond the hope of a remedy. The wise and liberal-minded governor, however, sought the accomplishment of his purpose, and on the year

following his arrival, restored the missions to the natives, and their direction to the Religious.¹ The wisdom and policy of this act cannot for a moment be doubted. It was, under the circumstances, the only sure means of restoring order to the country, and of providing for the happiness of the people, and the security of government. For a half a century and upwards, as long as the authority of the Fathers was recognized, the country was prosperous, the people happy, and the government secure. Hundreds were being annually reclaimed from their barbarous state, the lands were turned to most profitable account, the flocks increased and trade advanced. But when the new order of things was substituted for the old—when the authority was taken out of the hands of the Religious, six years of the most bitter experience clearly demonstrated the false notions of the time, and the decided superiority of the Religious over the civil regime.

His excellency was also aware that unless the missions were re-formed, and the scattered Indians induced to return, the government, of which he was a representative, would, indeed, have but a very imperfect hold on the country, and would, eventually, have the mortification of seeing it absorbed by the American republic. Under the circumstances, then, the scheme for the restoration of the missions was, in principal, good, yet unhap-

(1) See Governor's Proclamation at end of vol.

pily, from the very disorganized state of affairs at the time, unequal to the end. Those of the Indians who had returned to their wilds, and lived by brigandage, were too altered and demoralized in character and religion, to be easily persuaded to return; those, on the other hand, who wandered idly through the country, or lived in misery at the missions, remembering the cruelties practiced on them by the whites, could not readily read a sufficient security in the new order of the governor to induce them to assume with alacrity their former occupations. Still, an effort was made to carry out the governor's scheme. For two years the Religious labored to this end, with all the zeal, energy and ability that characterized them from the beginning. Already the happy fruits of their labors were apparent; numbers of the Indians had returned; others were coming in. The lands were being again tilled and the flocks attended; but it was still manifest that yet many years would be required, before things could be brought to the same flourishing condition as before. This the government was unwilling to brook, and in keeping with all its other arbitrary acts respecting the Californian Church, determined upon renting and selling the missions. To this end, in 1845, the departmental assembly empowered the then acting governor, Pio Pico, to dispose of, either by renting or selling to the white settlers of the country, the missions established by the

Fathers.¹ From that moment, the hopes of the native Christian congregations were at an end. By virtue of the governor's order, the property which had been realized through a long series of years, by the patient toil, devotion and care of the Religious, for the exclusive benefit of the natives, now passed into the possession of private individuals, while the Religious themselves, the authors of the country's temporal prosperity, were reduced, as we have seen, to the condition of menials, deprived of the common necessities of life. Thus sank, never to be revived, the hopes, the aspirations and well-being of the native Christian congregations of both Californias.

The destruction of the native church was the prelude to the annexation of the country by America, the immediate circumstances connected with which were as follows:

In 1835, Texas revolted against the federal government, and asserted its independence. On the following year, the commander of the Mexican forces, after being defeated by the Texans, acknowledged the independence of the province, and signed a treaty to that effect. This, however, the Mexicans, as a people, do not seem to have ever endorsed; for when a new party came into power, they still claimed authority over Texas as a part of the republic. The Texans, meantime, paid no attention to the claim, continued to govern themselves as an

(1) See Proclamation at end of vol.

independent people, and as such were regarded by America and Great Britain. During the nine years that immediately followed this change, the inhabitants frequently demanded admission into the Union, but were as often refused. At length, in 1845, it being then manifest that Mexico could no longer assert its authority over that people, the American congress, with the unanimous consent of the Texan people, passed resolutions annexing the province. Five days later the Mexican ambassador at Washington demanded his papers, and quitted the country. The *casus belli*, however, was not exactly the annexation of the province, but a disagreement respecting its boundaries. According to the Texans, the Rio Grande was the natural boundary, but the Mexicans, on the other hand, maintained that the Newwasas was the line.

A difference of some hundred and twenty-five or thirty miles of territory was thus the cause of dispute. To avoid the consequences of a war, overtures were made by America, but scornfully rejected by Mexico. Under the circumstances, the cabinet at Washington saw no other course than to enforce its authority by arms; and to carry out this resolution, early in 1846, General Taylor was commanded to occupy the territory in dispute. Then commenced that series of terrible engagements which ended in the complete overthrow of the Mexicans, and the taking of their capital.

The same year that Texas was received into the

Union, Colonel John C. Fremont, of the United States topographical survey, was sent out by the government to explore the territories of Utah, California and Oregon. The object of this commission can be hardly supposed to be other than to prepare the way for the annexation of those provinces. In January, 1846, Fremont arrived in California, and his presence was at once construed unfavorably by the local authorities. Indeed, it was impossible, considering the circumstances, that it could be looked upon otherwise. While proceeding at the head of his party to Monterey, the prefect Castro's suspicions were further awakened, and he forbade his approach. Leaving his men at a distance, Fremont rode into the city, offered such explanations as seemed to satisfy Castro, and returned to proceed on his way to the territory of Oregon. But he had not gone very far when he altered his resolution, (if, indeed, he ever seriously entertained any,) and resolved to seize upon the country. The reasons assigned for his adopting this course are differently stated. Some attribute it to the difficulty of his position, and the bad faith of the Mexican authorities, who, it is stated, had instigated the Indians to prevent his advance, and had also taken measures to expel all the American settlers from the province. That these were only imaginary reasons, assigned for the purpose of justifying the act, but not borne out by the facts, it is not very difficult to see. For

instead of desiring to prevent his departure from California, that was what the authorities were most anxious to see; and as regarded the expulsion of the Americans from the country, it was not a project at all likely to be entertained at that particular juncture, as well on account of the unpleasant relations then existing between the two countries, as also, and more especially because of the great power and influence of the American subjects themselves at the time. The veritable cause seems to have been derived from an entirely different source, namely, the determination of government to become possessed of the country—a resolve which was hastened and matured by the news that arrived in California, in the beginning of 1846, of the probabilities of a war between the two countries. But, to whatever it may be attributed, in the spring of that year Colonel Fremont took the bold and arbitrary step of seizing on the country in the name of his nation. Considering the very limited number of men under his command, they being, in all, only sixty-two, his project could not be well regarded by the more prudent than perilous in the extreme. But he was aware both of the character of the Californian troops, as well as the assistance he might expect from his countrymen; nor were there wanting those who are of opinion that the movement was forced upon him by the American settlers themselves. Be that as it may, the act was a bold and a daring

one. One of the first acts of the new leader was to take possession of the military post of Sonora, where nine cannon and two hundred and fifty stand of arms fell into his hands. Leaving in charge of this place, with a guard of only fourteen men, Mr. William B. Ide, a gentleman of some courage and ability, he himself hastened to the valley of the Sacramento, where the great bulk of the American settlers were to be found, in order to gain them over to his side. He had not proceeded very far, when learning that Castro was meditating an attack on Sonora, he felt necessitated to return to the aid of the little garrison as speedily as possible. The immediate action taken by the local authorities, in attempting to drive Ide from his position, was hastened, if not induced, by an injudicious proclamation which that gentleman issued, while yet not in a position to maintain his authority.

On returning to Sonora, not content with defeating the plans of the local authorities, Fremont assumed a more decided attitude of defiance. In an assembly of American citizens held on the occasion, in which Fremont himself was made governor, the independence of the country was proclaimed, and war formally declared against Mexico. During the time that these events were transpiring, nothing had been known of the declaration of war between America and Mexico; nor, on the other hand, had any information reached the au-

thorities at Washington of the occurrences which had taken place in California. Meantime, though entirely unconscious of the actual necessity of their presence, an army was approaching which was destined to play an important part in the subjugation of the territory. For several years during the respective administrations of Tyler, Harrison and Van Buren, the advantages to the American people from the occupation of Oregon, California and New Spain were admitted by all. The commencement of hostilities with Mexico respecting the boundaries of Texas was deemed a favorable moment for advancing these requirements of government. Accordingly, in June of 1846, Colonel Kearney received instructions from government to proceed across the country from Fort Leavenworth, to take possession of Santa Fé, and thence to proceed to California. At the same time, Congress had given orders for the formation of a corps of mounted riflemen, the command of which was to be given to Fremont. And, as a further precaution, a regiment of volunteers, one thousand strong, was raised in New York for the same purpose, and placed under the command of Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson, by whose exertions they were principally enrolled. These, co-operating with the navy, it was thought would be sufficient to take possession of the country. Kearney's command amounted in all to sixteen hundred men.

On the seventh of July, three days after Fre-

mont issued his declaration of independence from Sonora, Commodore Sloat, then commanding the United States squadron in the Pacific, seized upon Monterey, and, like his predecessor, Jones, hoisted the American colors, this time permanently, and issued a proclamation to the inhabitants.

The day after Sloat raised the American flag at Monterey, the same was done at San Francisco by Montgomery, commander of the Portsmouth sloop-of-war. Fifteen days later, Sloat was replaced in command of the Pacific squadron by Commodore Robert F. Stockton, a man of a bold and determined will. The position of the Americans, at this moment, was not over encouraging. Few in numbers, aliens by birth and sentiment, and intensely disliked by the Mexican colonists for their bold and aggressive measures, they were regarded by all more as raiders and freebooters than as honorable opponents. To allow their country to pass into the hands of such men, and thus be governed by a number of adventurers, was the last thing the Californian inhabitants would admit of. Nor, indeed, did there seem very much difficulty at the moment of opposing the scheme; for in numbers they were vastly superior to their aggressors; while in the general knowledge of the country, in horsemanship and power of endurance, they had a decided advantage. The late annexation of Texas was also a strong motive urging them to a determined spirit of resistance, unless they pre-

ferred American to Mexican rule. The "Army of the West," under the command of General Kearney, which had started from Fort Leavenworth on the thirtieth of June, was not likely to arrive for some time. In fact, its movements were entirely uncertain, depending for its arrival in California upon the success it was likely to meet with in New Mexico. Under these circumstances, nothing but the boldest and most decisive measures were likely to ensure success. Any delay or irresolution, by which the weakness of the party might become known, would be fatal to the cause. Thus situated, the Californians being unaware of his actual strength, Stockton resolved to hazard the issue upon an open engagement. With only five hundred men, some of whom had been only recently enlisted, he determined to give battle to the Californian troops, amounting to fifteen hundred men, amongst whom was a body of cavalry, represented as one of the finest in the world.

The Mexican forces, at this time, were in possession of the town and pueblo of Los Angeles. Thither Stockton immediately hastened, to give battle. The riflemen, who had been enlisted only a short time previous—numbering one hundred and sixty—and under the united command of Fremont and Gillespie, were embarked for San Diego from Monterey, on the twenty-third of July. Their orders were to co-operate with the commander in his movement against the city. Los

Angeles is situated a short distance from San Diego in the interior. On the first of August, Stockton himself sailed for the scene of action. On his way, he landed at Santa Barbara, and took possession of it, leaving there a small detachment for its defence. On the sixth of August, he arrived at San Pedro, the nearest port to Los Angeles. Here he learned the strength and position of the enemy, and the disadvantages under which the troops he had forwarded under Fremont and Gillespie were laboring for want of horses. Nevertheless, he resolved upon pushing forward with all possible dispatch. With the exception of Fremont and Gillespie's men, his force was entirely a naval one, now turned into regular troops of the line, and consisting of three hundred and fifty sailors and marines. Six pieces of cannon, obtained from the merchant vessels then lying on the coast, constituted his entire artillery.

The news of his arrival was communicated without delay to the Mexicans, when, either through fear or strategy, desiring to learn his position, commissioners were dispatched to treat about peace. Suspecting what might be the real object of the embassy, the general took measures to impress the commissioners with the greatest idea of his strength. With this object, he kept his men at a distance, partly concealed, and formed into several bodies apart. The plan was eminently successful. He not only succeeded in concealing

his actual weakness, but even impressed the deputation with the most exaggerated ideas of his numbers. The terms offered by Castro he rejected immediately, and ordered the messengers to assure their commander that unless he disbanded his troops he would suffer the penalty. To this Castro replied in the following spirited manner: "I will not withhold any sacrifice to oppose your intentions; and if, through misfortune, the flag of the United States waves in California, it will not be by my acquiescence, nor by that of the last of my compatriots."

It was now clear that nothing but an appeal to the sword could determine the question. Fearing lest the enemy might become acquainted with the strength of his force, Stockton immediately hastened to the front. The distance from the coast to the town was only thirteen miles, but was rendered difficult on account of the enemy's skirmishers being constantly in view, and having had to drag the park of artillery by hand over the hills and through the passes. The day previous to starting, which was the eleventh of August, the American commander received another message from Castro, to the effect that if he marched upon the town, he would find it a grave for his men; to which Stockton answered in the following characteristic terms: "Tell the general, then, to have the bells ready to toll at eight o'clock in the morning, as I shall be there at that time." Faithful to his

promise, he was on the ground at the appointed hour; but Castro was not there—he had fled. Unmindful of his messages, and utterly despairing of his cause, though entirely superior to his adversary in everything but courage, he shamefully quitted his position, retired from the town, and even from the country, and took refuge in Sonora. The following day, the thirteenth of August, Stockton entered the town, issued a proclamation, and declared California an integral portion of the United States of America. Thus passed from under Mexican to American rule, that province which since has become so remarkable in the history of America, and which, if the past may be taken as an index of the future, will ultimately become one of the most important States of the Union.

Although California virtually became a portion of American territory from the moment that Stockton entered Los Angeles and issued his proclamation, the war was still carried on, with more or less interruption, for the next couple of years. At last, in 1848, a peace was concluded and a treaty entered into between the respective cabinets of Washington and Mexico, whereby the latter agreed to forfeit all claim for the future to Upper California, New Mexico and Texas. The boundary line was drawn from about the thirty-second parallel of latitude of the Rio Grande, westward along the southern limits of New Mexico till it meets

the Gila, down which it proceeds to its junction with the Colorado, and thence westward to the Pacific, where it terminated a few miles below San Diego. As a kind of compensation for this liberal cession of territory, though in point of fact possessed by America, the United States agreed to pay to the government of Mexico fifteen million dollars; as also to assume the liabilities for damages due by the latter to American citizens for the capture and destruction of vessels before and during the Texan war. In vain do we look for any reason assigned by America for seizing upon California, beyond the fact that the country was but poorly governed, that it was likely to be important as a State, and that if not annexed by America, it was sure before long to fall into other hands.

CHAPTER VIII.

APPOINTMENT OF THE FIRST BISHOP OF MONTEREY.—HIS DEATH.—
DISCOVERY OF GOLD.—EXCITEMENT.—RUSH TO THE COUNTRY.—
FIRST CLERGY THAT MINISTER TO THE IMMIGRANTS.—SISTERS OF
NOTRE DAME ARRIVE.—APPOINTMENT OF DR. ALEMANY.—YIELD
OF THE MINES.—HOW WORKED.—APPEARANCE OF SAN FRAN-
CISCO.—THE HOUNDS.—FIRST ATTEMPT AT GOVERNMENT.

FROM the annexation of California to the American Republic, the native Christian Church ceased to have a separate existence. The great bodies of immigrants which then poured into the country, attracted by the recent discovery of gold, entirely absorbed the old native congregations, and laid the foundation of that Catholic society which at present occupies such a prominent position on the coast.

As has been stated before, on the consolidation of the Mexican Republic, in 1835, the congress, of which Santa Anna became president, restored to the Catholic Church, by a formal act of the Legislature, the property belonging to the missions, of which it had been deprived in 1832. The same well-disposed congress, too, determined upon placing Upper and Lower California under the care of a resident bishop, whose presence, it was thought, would serve to advance the true interests of religion, at the same time that it might tend to

promote indirectly the authority of Government. The choice of the civil authorities, which was in favor of a Mexican, was favorably received by the sovereign Pontiff, and in 1840, Don Francisco Garcia Diego was appointed to the charge by his holiness, Gregory XVI. The salary accorded to the Bishop by congress was six thousand dollars a year. He was required to reside at San Diego, but for reasons afterward assigned, this resolution was altered, and he was permitted to fix his episcopal residence at the town of Santa Barbara, where he lived from the time of his appointment till his death, in 1846.

Right Rev. Dr. Garcia Diego, the first bishop of California, was a man of respectable talent and attainments, if we may judge from the positions he held among the members of his order. A Mexican by birth, he became a member of the order of St. Francis, wherein, like many of his brother Religious, he obtained a high reputation for learning and piety. Indeed, it is impossible not to be struck with the great ability and talent of many of the first Mexican missionaries. The numerous works they have left us on almost every subject, but especially on the ancient history of the country, are ample evidences of this. Even yet, the names of Torquemada, Herrera, Molina, Sahagun, Clavigero and a host of others, are well remembered and familiar to the literary world.

For several years, Father Diego had been pro-

fessor of theology in his convent in Mexico. In 1833, he was appointed commissary-prefect of the missions of Upper California, where he had been engaged at the time of his appointment as bishop. Having been born in the country, and intimately acquainted with the habits, manners and customs of the people, his appointment was regarded in the most favorable light, as respected the future prosperity of the missions; but, in consequence of the civil commotions at the time, his efforts were comparatively unavailing, and his exertions without profit.

On the sixteenth of December, 1841, intelligence arrived at Santa Barbara, that the bishop, with a party of several priests, teachers and novices, had arrived at San Diego from San Blas. The news was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy; guns were fired, flags hoisted, banners displayed, and rockets let off. The church bells rang out a merry peal, which was taken up and prolonged, by the band playing at intervals its choicest and most appropriate pieces. The enthusiasm of the people was nothing surprising, for under the most ordinary circumstances, the presence of a prelate would have been hailed with delight, while the appointment of a man so thoroughly known and appreciated by the community, was an additional motive for rejoicing. On the eleventh of January, 1842, the barque with the party on board anchored in the bay of Santa Bar-

bara. Then ensued a scene of which it would be difficult to give an adequate idea. With a common instinct of faith and devotion, the entire Christian community, with hardly an exception, immediately turned out and hastened to the beach, to pay their respects to the first bishop of the country.

At eleven o'clock, Dr. Diego went on shore, and was conducted by the civil and military authorities, amid the roar of cannon and the plaudits of the people, to a private residence. At four in the afternoon, he was escorted to the mission at some distance from the town, but before reaching there, the enthusiasm of the multitude became such, that they had the horses removed from the carriage, and drew it themselves. Thus, amid the unbounded enthusiasm of the people, the firing of guns and the sound of music, the Right Rev. Francis Garcia Diego, first bishop of the Californian Church, took possession of his diocese of Monterey, on the eleventh of January, 1842.

Among the first works contemplated by his lordship was the erection of a cathedral, episcopal residence, monastery, and a theological seminary, to provide for the wants of the diocese. The funds necessary for the erection of these works he expected to obtain from the government out of the funded property of the mission; but, as that was confiscated the same year, the project fell to the ground. By earnest representation, however,

he succeeded in obtaining, in 1844, a grant of thirty-five thousand acres of land, as a means for establishing and maintaining an institution of learning for the youth of the country. The land, which is situated at some distance from Santa Barbara, is known as the College Ranch, and is of considerable value. According to the provisions of the grant, a college was established by the Bishop at the old mission of Santa Inez, shortly before his death. This institution is still in existence, under the care of the Franciscans, who have also a still larger establishment at Santa Barbara. The revenue of the property being small, the directors are only able to admit a limited number of pupils, and even these are required to pay a nominal sum. The advantages accruing to the mission from the ranch are not such as might be reasonably expected; for, during the drought of the years 1863 and 1864, the greater part of the stock, consisting of sheep, horses and black cattle, perished for want of pasturage.

On the death of Bishop Garcia, which happened in 1846, the management of the estate passed into the hands of the Very Rev. Father Gonzales, by whom it was administered till 1850, when it passed under the charge of the Right Rev. Dr. Alemany, then appointed to the vacant see, by whom it has continued to be administered up to the present, for the united benefit of Upper and Lower California, as contemplated by the provisions of the grant.

As the property had been originally donated by government to the bishop of Monterey, for the benefit of both Californias, upon the division of the country into separate dioceses, it seemed more advisable to the ecclesiastical authorities to make a division of the estate, and thus place it more immediately under the control of the parties interested. To this end, an application was made to the sovereign Pontiff, and permission obtained to that effect, but lest any legal or technical difficulty might stand in the way, the consent of the American Government was also solicited and obtained for the same, yet up to the present, no action has been taken in the matter, and the property continues to be administered by his grace, the archbishop of San Francisco, for the common benefit of the three dioceses.

Sensitive of the great evil done to the Church in the confiscation of the pious fund, and feeling not a little the ill-treatment of the Religious, coupled with the threatening aspect of political affairs in general, the health of Bishop Diego began rapidly to decline, and became so entirely undermined that, at the commencement of 1846, before the annexation of the country by America, the venerable prelate resigned his spirit into the hands of his Creator, and was buried in the mission church of his order at Santa Barbara.

The government of the diocese then passed un-

der the control of the Very Rev. Father Gonzales, the present venerable superior of the Franciscans on this coast. He is the oldest missionary now in the country, having come to California in the palmy days of the missions, when civil and religious prosperity were everywhere to be seen; before the avarice and cupidity of government had altered the relations between the missionaries and their charge. But not the most unjustifiable acts on the part of the authorities could induce him to abandon his post, not even when necessitated to depend for food and raiment on his former attendants. And now, after a missionary career of near two generations, all devoted to the exclusive interests of the people, it may be truly said of him that while he represents the true characteristics of an apostle, he recalls most forcibly the spirit, zeal and devotion of that ancient body of Religious who first introduced religion into the country.

During the years 1846 and 1847, there had been considerable emigration into California. Several hundreds, if not thousands, had already located themselves in the country. As early as 1847, a weekly journal was published in the little town then known as Yerba Buena, (the good herb,) but since as San Francisco. It was not, however, for one year later that the great tide of emigration began to roll from the east.

On the nineteenth of January, 1848, a day ever memorable in the annals of this country, gold was

discovered for the first time in the American river. The announcement was received by the public as a harbinger of fortune. Every one saw in it the realization of his highest ambition. Day by day the anxiety and excitement increased, till nothing was thought of or regarded but the mines and their yield. Speculations and employments which till then were considered as lucrative and important, were now disregarded and abandoned for the advantages offered by the new and surprising discovery. The excitement was further increased by the announcement of Governor Mason, who visited the favored locality, and assured the community that all that was required to realize a fortune, was a pick, a shovel and a pan! for that many had even picked the gold from the crevices of the rocks in pieces of from one to six ounces. At the same time the important announcement was made of the discovery of quicksilver, a requisite so necessary in the working of the mines. The intense excitement of the people now knew no bounds. San Francisco, Santa Barbara, San Diego, and every other place along the coast where there were European inhabitants, were all but completely abandoned. Every one hurried rapidly to the front; even the very natives caught the excitement, and hastened with all speed to gather up the precious deposit by the handful!

Three months later, by the first of July, and mining operations were fairly begun. Men were

then obtaining on an average from one to three ounces of gold a day. Some were naturally more fortunate than their companions, for while some obtained only their hundreds others realized their thousands. Chance, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, seemed to determine every man's fortune. The place was shown where two men took out seventeen thousand dollars worth of the precious metal within a few days. In another locality an American, who employed a body of Indians at a liberal price, had at the end of a few weeks, as his net proceeds, as much as sixteen thousand dollars. A soldier on furlough turned into the work, and in a week realized fifteen hundred dollars. In fact such was the yield at that time that men who were making forty and fifty dollars a day were dissatisfied, and would change in hopes of striking a better claim.

The news of the extraordinary discovery soon reached the States. The people were at first unwilling to credit the account. The apparently exaggerated form in which the announcement was made caused them to doubt its reality. Amongst the journalists there were those who, to show their penetration and ability as public instructors, entirely discredited the statement and asserted that the people were entirely in error, for that the mineral was mica, not gold. When, however, some of the actual specimens began to arrive, and were exhibited through the country, the truth

began to be credited and the enthusiasm of the masses was roused. The feverish anxiety of the people was still further increased by the announcement of the directors of the Philadelphia mint to the effect that the specimens of Californian gold received in the country were valued at eighteen dollars five and a half cents to the ounce.

The question was not now about the reality, the richness and quality of the mines, but regarding the means of arriving in the country, for California was then a foreign land. No iron-bound line had yet united the east and west. Either the perils attending a journey of three thousand miles by land through an inhospitable region, inhabited only by savage Indians, and still more savage animals, and yet unmarked by the emigrant train, or the dangers to be encountered in a tedious voyage by sea, being necessitated to round the Horn, were the difficulties which presented themselves to the minds of the emigrants and caused a journey from the Atlantic to the Pacific to be regarded in those days as a matter of no ordinary moment.

But neither the dangers by land nor the perils by sea proved any impediment to the enthusiastic adventurous portion of the community leaving their homes, and seeking their fortunes in the newly discovered land of the west. Within a month or six weeks after the announcement was fully confirmed, of the great wealth of the Californian mines, hundreds of all classes and ranks in

society were on the route to the new El Dorado, already rich in imagination, and resolved to return within a year to the place of their birth. The company was, indeed, not unfrequently a strange and incongruous one. Doctors, lawyers, farmers, spendthrifts, blacklegs, broken-down speculators, *et hoc genus omne*; were not uncommonly associates on the same voyage. There were those, too, in the company on whose safety and success the hopes and aspirations of many were anxiously depending. The father of the family whose earnest and unceasing endeavors were only barely sufficient to earn a pittance for his charge, saw in the new field of discovery a certain and ready means of raising his family to opulence. The young lover went forth for a season to return speedily to the object of his affection with a competency sufficient for both during life. Then there was the youth of whom nothing could be made by the parent, the unhappy husband and the faithless partner for whom a departure from home meant a release from his matrimonial engagement.

Those who preferred coming by sea had to encounter not only the dangers common to a voyage of several months by water, but the much greater dangers and perils attendant on the character of the vessels in which they were necessitated to embark. This was a difficulty to which they found themselves exposed, from the fact, that, at the beginning there was no regular trade to the coast,

and all manner of craft had to be pressed into the service in order to meet the demand, so much so that it is marvelous to consider how so many were enabled to turn the cape and arrive safely in the country. Old, crazy, long-condemned whalers, petty river steamers, paltry brigantines and worthless corvettes were gotten ready and made to transport their human cargo over several thousand miles of sea. Many of these never returned to the Atlantic, but were profitably employed on the bay and the rivers of the country.

An improvement was soon made in this mode of communication. A company was formed, and vessels of tolerable pretensions advertised for sailing by the isthmus. The passengers were assured they would find vessels on the opposite coast, ready to transport them to the end of their journey; but, from want of a proper arrangement, the vessels were wanting, and the passengers detained. How far the officers were culpable in this, it is not necessary to say. Sufficient for our purpose, to state that what with the generally overcrowded state of the vessels, the toilsome passage of the isthmus, and the detention at Panama, the hopes of many were blasted, and instead of gold-fields and opulence, they found, on the contrary, only a tropical fever, and an untimely grave. Of this class there are now no means of determining the number; but it is not improbable that amid such a rush, several fell victims to the typhoid, indigenous to the marshes of the isthmus.

Those who ventured by land were generally more fortunate, unless, as happened in some cases, when they started too late, they suffered considerable inconvenience in crossing the snow-bound region of the Sierras. They had, however, the advantage, on arriving in the country, of not being necessitated to undertake an additional journey, as was requisite for those coming by sea, who, upon landing in San Francisco, had yet some hundreds of miles to proceed before arriving at the mines.

The numbers that thus poured into the country from the very outset, were of a very dissimilar, heterogeneous character. They were of all classes, conditions, nationalities and religions—Americans, Irish, English, Scotch, Germans, French, Italians and Swiss were among the number. Of Catholics there was a very considerable number, but scattered as they were through the country, and not permanently located in any particular locality, it was difficult to provide for them the comforts and blessings of religion. Under the circumstances, however, all that could be reasonably expected was accomplished.

As the Mexican Religious then in the country were required for the wants of the native population, and, moreover, being unacquainted with the various languages of the immigrants, aid had to be sought from a different quarter. It was obtained, in the first instance, from the neighboring territory of Oregon.

For several years, a body of clergy had been laboring in behalf of the settlers and employees of the Hudson Bay Company, west of the Rocky Mountains. In 1835, the Catholics on the Willamette River, applied through Dr. John McLoughlin for the services of some Catholic missionaries, to minister to their spiritual wants. For some time it was found impossible to comply with their petition, but in 1838, the Bishop of Quebec, in whose diocese all that section of the country west of the Rocky Mountains was, sent as missionaries to the whites, as also for the conversion of the natives, the Rev. F. N. Blanchet and Modest Demers, both subsequently raised to the episcopacy, the former to the Archbishopric of Oregon, in 1846, and the latter to the Vicariate Apostolic of Vancouver, in 1847.

On the twenty-fourth of November, 1838, Fathers Blanchet and Demers arrived at Vancouver, and immediately engaged in the work of the ministry, by establishing stations, and visiting the Americans and Indians of the country. For four years they labored unaided in the new field of their ministry, when they were joined by two others, Fathers Bolduc and Langlois. These were followed still later, in 1846, by Fathers Nobili, De Vos and Delavand, all of whom continued to labor among the natives and settlers, till the announcement of the discovery of gold in California withdrew the greater portion of their congre-

gations from the country. Previous to the arrival of the last-named Fathers, there had been considerable immigration from several of the western States, but especially from Missouri and Illinois, to that part of the country beyond the Rocky Mountains; so that, considering the numbers of the settlers, the inducements held out, and the apparently permanent character of the place as an agricultural district, it became a matter of consideration whether it would not be better to have a Bishop appointed to the charge. An application was accordingly made by the Canadian ecclesiastical authorities to his Holiness, Pius IX., who graciously acceded to the petition, and, in 1846, appointed to the new diocese, of which Oregon was to be the episcopate, Very Rev. F. N. Blanchet. The new charge comprised the whole of the State of Oregon, as far north as British Columbia, taking in on the south, part of the States of Montana, Idaho and Utah. These boundaries were afterwards limited, on the appointment of the Vicars Apostolic of Marysville and Idaho. Subsequently, in 1847, the Island of Vancouver and British Columbia were erected into another Vicariate Apostolic, to which Dr. Blanchet's companion, Father Demers, was appointed.

Upon the discovery of gold in California, the emigrants who had but recently settled in Oregon and Washington territories were attracted to the country; and that they might not be deprived of

the blessings of religion, some of the clergy of whom I have spoken above, followed them to the new scene of their labors. Thus, the first clergy to minister to the wants of the pioneer English-speaking catholics on the Californian coast were those from the neighboring diocese of Oregon. Among the first to arrive in the country were Fathers Langlois, Nobili and Accolti.

Up to this period, 1849, no successor had been appointed in the room of the late deceased prelate, Right Rev. Dr. Garcia Diego, and the ministration of the diocese was discharged by the Very Rev. Father Gonzales, who, on account of his unacquaintance with the language of the immigrants, and his unwillingness to quit the quiet retreat of his monastery, appointed as his representative, with vicarial powers, the Rev. Father Langlois, the present pastor of Half-Moon Bay. Father Langlois continued to discharge the office of vicar for some years, when for the attainment of a higher state of perfection, he resigned his charge and entered the order of St. Dominic.

From 1842, the Sisters of Notre Dame, from Belgium, had been settled in Oregon; but finding at the time of which I speak, that their services could be better employed in Upper California, they left their original mission, came to the country, and settled at the town of San José, where they have since succeeded in forming one of the finest institutions of learning for young ladies on the coast.

The appointment of a successor to Dr. Diego, which for some time had occupied the attention of the holy see, was at last determined. The person selected to fill the vacant see was the Very Rev. J. S. Alemany, provincial of the Dominican order in the State of Ohio. Dr. Alemany was born in the city of Vich, in Catalonia, Old Spain, in the year 1814. About the age of fifteen he entered the Dominican order, and made his primary studies in the convents of Trumpt and Garona. In 1837, he was ordained priest at Viterbo, in the Roman States, by Right Rev. Gaspar Pianetti, afterwards Cardinal, under the title of San Sixto.

During the year and a half he remained at Viterbo after his ordination, Father Alemany held the office of sub-master of novices. Subsequently, on his removal to Rome, he was appointed assistant to the pastor of the Minerva, which office he continued to discharge till 1841, when he volunteered for the North American missions. On his arrival in the country, he was sent to a house of the order in Ohio, but the then Bishop of Nashville, Right Rev. Richard Miles, having obtained his services, he was appointed, after a short residence at Nashville, to a separate charge in the city of Memphis. Here he continued to reside till 1847, when he was appointed provincial of the order in the State of Ohio. In the beginning of 1850, he left for Italy, in order to be present at the General Chapter to be held that year. His

presence in Rome seems to have attracted the attention of the authorities, for it was while residing there that the will of the Holy Father was communicated to him regarding his appointment to the vacant see. The Rev. Mr. Montgomery, cousin of the Hon. Zach. Montgomery, had been previously appointed, but refused to accept the charge. On the thirteenth June, 1850, Father Alemany was consecrated by Cardinal Franzoni, in the church of St. Carlo, at Rome. Immediately after he set out for his mission, bringing with him to the country the germs of two religious communities, in the persons of Mother Mary Goemare and Very Rev. Father Vilarrasa, both of the order of St. Dominic. These established their respective convents in the first instance at Monterey, but afterward changed to Benicia, on seeing the increase of population in that section of the country. There they have continued to reside up to the present, and the progress made in the interim may be judged from the fact that at present the united communities of both religious establishments numbers between forty and fifty members.

It is now proper to take a glance at the country in its civil capacity, and to mark the increase of population, and the progress in industry and wealth during the years 1848-49-50. At the beginning of the first mentioned year, the entire population of the city of San Francisco does not appear to have been more than one thousand.

According to the census then taken by the board of school trustees there were then in the city, five hundred and seventy-five male inhabitants, one hundred and seventy-seven female adults, and sixty children of ages capable of attending school. The number of infants not being given it may be fair to set down the entire population in that year, 1848, at one thousand, or thereabouts. The city then comprised only a couple of hundred buildings of all kinds.

For some time the number of inhabitants was not destined to increase, but rather to decrease. As has been remarked, upon the discovery of gold, all who were enabled, flocked to the favorite localities. Neither threats, persuasion nor inducement could retain them at their employment, or bind them to their engagements. The excitement of the moment changed all the relations of master and servant, employee and employed. The sailor deserted his ship, the soldier his barracks, the clerk his desk; and to such an extent was this being carried that the then governor of the State was necessitated to issue an order calling on the community to aid the authorities in preventing further desertion from the army and navy. But even this was insufficient and had but a trifling effect in checking the rush, for whenever an opportunity offered, engagements were forgotten and duties abandoned. In a word, like a pestilential distemper, avarice had seized upon all, and completely

thinned the ranks of the community. Within three months after the discovery was announced, San Francisco was all but abandoned. The only two journals then published on the coast, the "California" and the "Star," ceased to appear for want of employees. All had gone to the mines, nor was this to be wondered at considering the accounts every day arriving from the "diggings." There were statements to the effect that many were averaging from one to two hundred dollars a day. Others were said to be realizing from five to seven hundred, while two pieces of the valuable metal, one of four and the other of thirteen pounds weight, were among some of the earliest discoveries. These, of course, were the exception and not the rule. The great majority of the miners never realized anything like it—from fifteen to twenty-five and thirty dollars a day being the average estimated gains of each in the palmiest days of the diggings.

The unskilled and imperfect process adopted in the beginning in seeking the precious deposits, prevented the adventurers from realizing very considerable sums. It is, indeed, no exaggeration to say that if the first arrivals in the country had the knowledge and means of working the mines which their successors had, they would all to a man have been enabled to return to their homes with an ample independence for life. Even as it was the aggregate sum was very considerable, for within

the first couple of months after the work was commenced, gold dust to the amount of a quarter of a million of dollars was paid in San Francisco for provisions alone, while within the subsequent six or eight weeks the sum amounted to six hundred thousand dollars.

The only implements used at first by the miners were the pick, the shovel and the pan; and when these could not be procured, butcher-knives, pointed sticks, closely-woven willow baskets and old hats were used in their stead. The washing process was easily and rapidly accomplished. From the place where the gold was supposed to have accumulated a quantity of dirt was taken from the bed of the stream and cast into the pan, which, after being placed in the water, was gently shaken till all the superfluous matter had passed over the sides, the gold always descending to the bottom of the vessel as being the heaviest object. In this manner the search was conducted at first, and whenever any locality yielded only a poor or uncertain return the adventurers immediately abandoned the place and sought a more favored position.

After a little a more efficient and profitable method of working the claims was generally adopted. To the willow-woven basket, the pan and the bowl, succeeded the rocker or cradle, the Long Tom and the hydraulic appliances, but by this time the specially large deposits had been extracted and the gains were consequently but com-

paratively small. The prices of all kinds of provisions were at first in keeping with the profits of the miners. Meat and flour were four and five hundred per cent. beyond their ordinary value, and were not always easily obtained at that. Eggs sold at from one to three dollars each, spirits at from ten to forty dollars a quart, while for medicines we are assured that every prescription, from a pill to a purgative, cost from fifty to one hundred dollars and more.

Household utensils, articles of comfort and necessity, wearing apparel, and implements for working the mines, all ranged equally high. Common picks and shovels went from five to ten dollars each; wooden and tin bowls brought half that sum. Under such circumstances, it could not be expected that, after all, the gains of the miners would be so great. What was realized in one way was readily spent in another. And, entirely independent of the ordinary necessities and comforts of life, there were other and more manifold inducements for parting with their money.

In a state of society such as was then in existence in the country where the voice of religion and restraint was entirely unheard, great was the excess, and numerous the votaries of dissipation and debauchery. Frequently what was gained during the week was spent on the Sunday in the grog-shop or gambling saloon. An infatuation common to the time seemed to have got posses-

sion of the minds of the majority, that the mines were certain to last, and that no anxiety need be entertained regarding the future. Thus many lived for a time, oblivious of everything but present enjoyment, freely indulging in all the wild excesses common to their abnormal condition, rich to-day, poor to-morrow, till at length, the first rude shock of sickness began to rouse them from their false repose, and make them believe that a mistake was being made in not laying up something for the future.

In the autumn of 1848, in consequence of much previous exposure, unhealthy food and dissipation, fevers and dysentery broke out among the miners, and became alarmingly prevalent. To these numbers fell victims, and, unhappily, too, under the most deplorable circumstances, there being no minister of religion, in most cases, to administer to them the last rites of our holy religion. The nearest priests, then, to the mines, were those in the city of San Francisco; and, as no one, in those days, before stages and railways came into use, thought of sending several hundred miles for the services of a clergyman, several must have died without the consolation of religion. How many may have passed into eternity under such circumstances there are now no means of determining, but from the numbers then engaged in the mines, and the fatal character of the diseases, the list, it is to be feared, was considerable.

At this time, the wiser and farther seeing portion of the adventurers began to understand that, after all, the diggings, though yielding an ample return, were not the most desirable place to reside, nor probably the most lucrative to be found. The great stream of immigration then pouring into the country, and the apparently permanent character, at least for some time, of the richness of the mines, made it apparent that a city of no insignificant importance was sure to grow up on the coast. And as the claims of the city of San Francisco to such a position were already established and admitted by all, thither the eyes of the more thoughtful were anxiously directed. Accordingly, a reaction took place, so that while thousands were pouring into the country, and hastening onward to the mines, others, more thoughtful and sagacious, were returning therefrom, with the view of investing their gains in land and real estate in and around the then limits of the city. The number of those, however, who returned before the middle or end of 1849, was remarkably few; the excitement of the moment, the hope of quickly amassing a considerable fortune, and, above all, the really rich nature of the claims, prevented them from abandoning the work; but when the first period of success had been passed, and it became apparent that no extraordinary gains could be reasonably hoped for, for the future, then the reaction, of which I have spoken, began to set in,

in reality. Fortunate, too, for the parties who returned at that favorable moment, for by a judicious investment of the capital then at their command, they are now amongst the wealthiest of the commercial firms of the city. The reader may form an idea of the product of the mines at this period, from the fact that during the latter half of the year 1848, gold dust to the amount of two million dollars was exported from the coast. And so limited was all other species of currency, that gold became almost the exclusive circulating medium ; sixteen dollars an ounce being allowed for it in all business transactions ; but at the customs only ten, with, however, the privilege of redeeming it within a reasonable time.

The appearance of the city now began to wear a livelier and more agreeable aspect. The abandonment and neglect to which it had been subjected for months had partially disappeared. The return of several of the adventurers to the old scenes of their employments created the change. In consequence, the revival of the lately discontinued journals was among the most notable events of the hour ; a circumstance which was hailed by the people as an important advantage, as it enabled the public to learn with promptness and accuracy the important occurrences of the time. Both journals were subsequently united and brought out under the title of the "Star and California," which was continued till the beginning of 1849,

when it became known as the "Alta California." In the spring of this year, the first bodies of immigrants began to arrive from the States. In their eagerness to reach the scene of their ambition, only comparatively few remained in the city. Labor, in consequence, rose enormously high. Much work had to be done, and few were willing to engage in it without fabulous pay. The city had then to be laid out, the streets graded, the sidewalks planked, hills leveled, hollows filled, the bay piled, and dwellings erected. At the same time numerous vessels were constantly arriving at the wharves, or what answered as such, with valuable cargoes, but there were few to remove the commodities to their respective destinations. Under such circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that labor should have run extraordinarily high, averaging from seven to ten dollars a day, at the lowest, while the wages of mechanics were proportionately large, ranging between twenty and thirty.

These were, indeed, the golden days of the Pacific coast. Then California might be truly said to be the poor man's Paradise, for then every one was rich, and poverty unknown. Labor, too, was honored and esteemed. The trader, the merchant, the capitalist, the banker, the lawyer—every one, in a word, labored in those days; not, indeed, as at present, at their desks or in their counting-offices, but at duties and in capacities which now may be deemed menial and servile.

The appearance of what is at present the attractive, imposing part of the city, strangely contrasts with what it was at that period. A few hundred, or at best a few thousand, ill-fashioned, hastily-erected dwellings, then constituted all there was of a town. Market, Kearny and Montgomery streets were yet unbuilt on. All around, in every direction, supplying the places of dwellings, were to be seen numerous paltry structures erected by the immigrants, in the shape of canvas, blanket and bough-covered tents, to preserve them from the inclemency of the weather, till they started for the diggings.

The streets, which were yet unformed, were little better than moving sheets of the finest sand, yielding freely to the pressure of the passers-by, or blown in blinding clouds of dust, if the weather happened to be stormy; or, again, consisting only of a miry slough, whenever it had copiously rained. In the distance, on the other hand, the eye was greeted with the presence of a thousand craft of every dimension, from the tiny little bark to the imposing steamer. By the end of July of this year, 1849, as many as two hundred vessels, of all dimensions, and from various ports, were anchored in the bay. The population had by that time reached the considerable figure of five thousand, or more; and with an increase in the numbers came also an increase in dissipation, lawlessness and immorality. In a state of society where the provisions of law

had to a great measure to be framed, where every man regarded himself free, in the sense of his being accountable to none, little could be hoped for or expected from the people. We are not, accordingly astonished to learn that thefts, robberies and murders were of constant and almost daily occurrence. A body of desperate characters, known as the "Hounds," and consisting for the most part, if not entirely, of the disbanded troops of one of the regiments engaged in the annexation of the country, had been for some time in existence. This gang of desperate men, formed ostensibly for the purpose of defending themselves and the inhabitants from the violence of the more daring, was in reality only a body of practical thieves, whose livelihood was obtained by the plunder of the community. So that, while under the plea of guarding the inhabitants, by parading the streets as officers of the republic, they, in reality set all law and order at defiance, and used their self-constituted authority only as a shield for their crimes. For a time they continued unmolested in their nefarious proceedings, carrying fear and alarm into every family, attacking the tents and huts of the immigrants, invading stores, taverns and private residences, and everywhere carrying off everything valuable that fell within their reach. In fine, their excesses and depredations were carried to such an extent that the community aroused to a sense of its danger, formed a regular

force, seized upon several of the outlaws, and after a regular trial, convicted, and condemned them to the galleys for various terms of imprisonment. Thus, by the judicious and energetic action of the well-disposed and law-abiding portion of the inhabitants, the town was delivered within a little, from the social disorder which for months had infested it.

Order was further advanced at this period by the organization of a number of government officers for the regular discharge of business of State. Since the beginning of August of the preceding year when it became known that the country had been ceded to the American government, efforts were made to organize a competent and efficient method of administration. As Congress had taken no steps in the matter, it was deemed necessary, in consequence of the numerous excesses and murders everywhere committed through the country, to establish as a means of self-preservation, a provisional government, so that some legal protection could be had for the lives and properties of the more peaceful members of the community. Accordingly on the twenty-first and twenty-third of December, 1848, large, influential meetings were held in the city, at which it was resolved, that delegates to the number of five, be appointed, whose duty it would be to frame the rules of a constitution for the government of the country. The meeting of the delegates was fixed for the month

of March, in the town of San José, but another meeting of the people of that town fixed the assembly for the second of January.

Meantime the administration of justice was considerably embarrassed in San Francisco, and proceedings enacted by no means to the credit of the people. The election of members to the important position of town councilors for 1849, having been declared invalid in consequence of the votes of some unqualified persons, a new election had to be resorted to." But this resulting in favor of some of the lately appointed, then was to be witnessed the anomalous spectacle of three bodies—the old town council of 1848 and the two of 1849, claiming the exercise of authority and the government of the community. These, however, were all brought to resign their position in favor of a new body of officers to consist of fifteen councilors and three justices of the peace, who continued in office till the organization effected by brigadier-general Riley was carried into effect.

On the thirteenth of April, 1849, brigadier Riley arrived in the country and announced to the community his appointment to the civil and military administration of California by orders of the American government. An election for the nomination of the requisite officers of justice immediately followed, and resulted in the election of a judge, prefect, sub-prefect, alcalde, town council and delegates of convention to the number of five.

The chief magistrate, Mr. Geary, lost no time in issuing an address to the members of the council, calling on them for the necessary means for carrying on the public administration. From the address the reader may form an idea of the actual condition of the city at the time. "At this time," writes the official, "we are without a dollar in the public treasury, and it is to be feared the city is greatly in debt. You have neither an office for your magistrate *nor any other public edifice*. You are without a single police officer or watchman, and have not the means of confining a prisoner for an hour. Neither have you a place to shelter, while living, sick and unfortunate strangers who may be cast upon our shores, or to bury them when dead. Public improvements are unknown in San Francisco. In short, you are without a single requisite for the promotion of prosperity, for the protection of property, or for the maintenance of order."

Such was the condition of San Francisco only twenty-one years ago. How much it has improved since then, and what a contrast it presents at present, with its ample exchequer, numerous government officers, extensive commercial relations and vastly increased number of inhabitants, is thoroughly known to all.

CHAPTER IX.

INCREASE OF POPULATION IN SAN FRANCISCO. — FIRST CHURCH FOR THE EMIGRANTS. — CHOLERA BREAKS OUT. — SISTERS OF CHARITY ARRIVE. — DR. ALEMANY TRANSFERRED FROM MONTEREY TO SAN FRANCISCO. — FATHER GALLAGHER GOES TO EUROPE. — HE OBTAINS TWO RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES. — ESTABLISHMENT OF ST. THOMAS' SEMINARY. — SISTERS OF MERCY ARRIVE. — PREJUDICE AGAINST THEM.

DURING the first half of 1849, the population of San Francisco was very considerably increased. As many as fifteen thousand, it is thought, were added to the community from the first of January till the thirtieth of June. Of these only a very small proportion, not more, perhaps, than from two to three hundred were females. The arrivals, in the first instance, were chiefly Chilians, Mexicans and others from the Pacific border; but as the year advanced, great numbers began to pour in from the Atlantic States, from China and Europe. The average monthly number of immigrants by sea alone during the latter half of this year, was in the vicinity of four thousand or more; so that, by the end of the year, as many as thirty-five or forty thousand emigrants had landed in San Francisco; which, when added to some thirty thousand who were supposed to have crossed the plains, made the whole number who poured into the country during 1849, as high as sixty-five or sev-

enty thousand souls. But as the majority of these immediately spread through the country, the population of the city remained at the end of the year only between twenty and twenty-five thousand, chiefly males and adults. Of this considerable number one half were probably Catholics.

It was, then, to provide for the wants of this numerous flock of different nationalities, speaking different tongues and living widely apart, that the newly-appointed bishop of Monterey was called upon to make the necessary provision. A more embarrassing and onerous position does not ordinarily fall to the lot of a newly-appointed prelate. Destitute, to a great extent, of the necessary means for working the mission, having only a very limited number of clergy, no sacred edifices, no charitable institutions, and what was still worse, no means for erecting the same, Dr. Alemany may be said to have taken charge of his large and rapidly increasing flock under very exceptional and discouraging circumstances. How far he succeeded in his charge, aided by a devoted clergy and the generous liberality of a faithful people, the reader will be able to judge by the sequel.

The first Catholic church erected in the city of San Francisco for the use of the immigrants, was a petty wooden shanty, built in the early part of 1849, on the site of the present substantial church of St. Francis, Vallejo street. Mass had been previously celebrated in a room gotten up for the pur-

pose, by the kindness of lieutenant, now inspector-general, Hardy, of the United States service, who was a convert to our holy religion. The first humble edifice, which was capable of accommodating only a very limited number of worshipers, gave place, before long, to a larger and more substantial erection, which in time was replaced by the present excellent building.

His lordship, Right Rev. Dr. Alemany, arrived in California, in the spring of 1850, and took up his residence at Monterey, where his see had been fixed. His first efforts were directed to procuring a sufficient number of clergy for the requirements of the people. In this he was but partially successful at the outset. The light in which California was then regarded in Europe, and even in the States, the great distance of the journey, the newness of the place, and the difficulties and discomforts sure to be encountered, prevented many from offering their services. As it was, however, the people were not entirely deprived of all spiritual comfort. In the autumn of this year, four missionaries, on their way to the diocese of Oregon, arrived on the coast. As the mission was then in much need of their services, they consented to remain for a little, and during their stay rendered most important services to religion. Among these reverend clergy was the present vicar-general of the archdiocese, whose labors in administering to the sick and the dying, during an epidemic which

occurred at this time, deserve the highest commendation.

The city by this time had become considerably improved. New buildings were erected, streets opened and wharves formed. The tents and shanties had either entirely disappeared, or were only to be seen in the suburbs. Commerce had considerably advanced, and everything looked prosperous; but, for the moment, the public security was rudely disturbed. In October of 1850, the cholera for the first time appeared in San Francisco. The epidemic was introduced into the country by the immigrants from the States. During the years 1848 and 1849 it had been prevalent in New York and the other great cities of the East, and many, while crossing the plains, fell victims to it in the beginning of '50. Its ravages in San Francisco, though not the most widespread, were sufficient to cause considerable alarm and uneasiness to the community. The average number of deaths from its effects during the three months of October, November and December, may be reasonably estimated at between four and five hundred.

As there were then only two priests in the city, the present Very Rev. James Croke and Very Rev. F. Langlois, the duty was remarkably trying. For days they had to be continually at their post administering the last sacraments to the sufferers. That some under such circumstances departed this

life without the comforts of religion there is every reason to fear, but from the devoted attentions of the missionaries their numbers were probably few. The epidemic also extended its ravages to other parts of the country—Sacramento in particular, where one of the missionaries, Rev. Father Anderson, fell a victim to its deadly effects.

The increase in the population during the year 1850, must have been from fifty to sixty thousand, of all classes. Thirty-six thousand arrived by sea alone, and as half this number was probably Catholic, the necessity of an additional number of clergy became more and more urgent. For the moment the whole wants of the people could not be supplied, nor, indeed, it must be admitted, were all in a disposition to attend to the voice of religion. In general, the emigrants had come to the country with only one object in view—the acquisition of wealth, and in the great struggle therefor, many unhappily forgot for the moment their duties to God, or at least became largely indifferent to the claims of religion. Yet this was not a reason why they should be forgotten, on the contrary, it became a still stronger motive why the practice of religion should be placed within their reach.

In 1851 the mission received an addition to its ranks, in the persons of the Rev. Eugene O'Connell and Rev. Father Vincent, then a scholastic of the Dominican Order. The foundation of the Church was now solidly laid; time and hands were

alone necessary to raise the superstructure and give it that finish and development which it has since received.

The year 1852 opened on the mission under the most favorable auspices. From this dates the first real progress of the diocese and the advent of some of those missionaries whose lives have been so pre-eminently serviceable to religion in these parts. In the Spring of this year, Doctor (now archbishop) Alemany left for the States in order to be present at the first plenary council of Baltimore. While attending the council he succeeded in obtaining the services of the Rev. H. P. Gallagher, whose name has since become so intimately connected with the progress of religion on this coast. Gifted with a solid judgment, much business capacity and a deep sense of religion, Father Gallagher became an invaluable aid to the bishop at this juncture.

During his sojourn in the States, Dr. Alemany was further successful in obtaining for his diocese the services of a religious community of females, the Sisters of Charity. The parent house of this order in the United States had been settled for some time at Emitsburgh, Maryland. Though not entirely sufficient for all demands made upon them in the States, at the earnest solicitation of the bishop, they consented to send a few of the community to the Californian mission. On the seventeenth June, 1852, they started by sea for the new

field of their labors. The voyage was one of unusual severity. It was attended by a variety of inconveniences, privations and hardships, amongst which may be numbered the inclemency of the weather, sickness and a want of the proper accommodations. While crossing the isthmus two of their number died from exhaustion and exposure. Continuing their journey the others arrived safely in the country on the eighteenth August, 1852, having thus the honor of being the third religious community of females that landed on the Pacific coast for the purpose of advancing the cause of religion and humanity. On the way they even found an opportunity of exercising the mission on which they had started. A child, whose mother had died from cholera during the voyage, was adopted by them and brought to the mission, so that in reality before they landed on the coast they began the exercise of that charity for which their community is so remarkable all over the world.

The special object of the Sisters of Charity, as the reader must be aware, is the care and protection of the orphan. For this they were instituted by St. Vincent de Paul. Their presence in San Francisco was demanded at the time for the following reason: The cholera, of which I have spoken as having raged in the city at the end of 1850, left on the hands of the community several destitute orphans. Of these a considerable number were Catholic. A meeting of the Catholic in-

habitants was accordingly held early in 1851 for the purpose of providing for those destitute children. At the preliminary meeting it was agreed to enter upon arrangements for establishing an orphan asylum—a free school and infirmary, the management of which should be entrusted to the care of the Sisters of Charity. A month later the project assumed a practical shape in the formation of an association established under the title of the “Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum and Free School Association of San Francisco.” The duties of the society then were to furnish the means requisite for maintaining the institutes, leaving their management entirely in the hands of the Religious. The organization itself was to be composed of a president, two vice-presidents, a treasurer, secretary, board of managers and members. At the second meeting, which took place on the twenty-third March, 1851, Mr. John A. McGlynn was appointed president. Three months later Messrs. John Sullivan, Timothy Murphy and Jasper O’Farrell donated to the bishop for the use of a Catholic orphanage or other religious purpose, one half of a one hundred vara lot situated on Market street, where the present asylum now stands. A little wooden building was immediately erected on the donated lot, and answered for some time the purposes of a school. A temporary chapel was also constructed and served as a place of worship till the old building, lately vacated for the new St. Patrick’s on Mission street, was opened.

The society for the providing of funds continued its praiseworthy labors till 1857, when the institution, no longer requiring its services, it was formally dissolved and ceased to exist. The benefits conferred by the organization on religion and humanity during the six years of its existence, were such as to demand that the names of the more prominent members be placed upon record. From its establishment in 1851 to its dissolution in 1857, the following gentlemen acted alternately as presidents: Messrs. John A. McGlynn, Charles D. Carter and Philip A. Roach.

On arriving in San Francisco, the Sisters were received by the Rev. Father Maginnis, and took charge of the orphans collected by the pious care and solicitude of the society referred to. A little time only was necessary to make the accommodations at their disposal too limited for their numbers. An effort was accordingly made in their behalf by the clergy and laity, which resulted in the erection, in 1855, at a cost of forty-five thousand dollars, of the present brick building adjoining St. Patrick's. This building was at that period the principal edifice in the locality ; it rose in fine proportions and striking contrast above all the surrounding dwellings, and was justly regarded with pride by the then Catholic community. The appropriate name given it by the founder, " The Orphan's Home," unmistakably designated the object to which it was applied.

The staff of the community was now increased by the arrival of five additional Sisters from the parent home at Emitsburgh. The accession was of the greatest importance, for another or second asylum was already contemplated by the ecclesiastical authorities. Moved by a laudable desire of providing for the moral and intellectual culture of the Catholic youth in the vicinity of San Rafael, once the site of a flourishing mission in the time of the Fathers, Mr. Timothy Murphy, whose name has been already mentioned in connection with the city asylum, donated to the Church for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a school, three hundred acres of land in Marin County. The charge of establishing and conducting the school, was entrusted by the bishop to the Sisters of Charity, as the reader may see from the following:

“St. Vincent’s Seminary, Las Gallinas, near San Rafael, Marin County, California, A. D., 1855, January 1st.

“The Sisters of Charity of this city of San Francisco, California, are appointed to take charge of the School of St. Vincent, at Las Gallinas, Marin Co., California, to carry out the intentions of Mr. Timothy Murphy.

“† JOSEPH S. ALEMANY,
“Archbishop of San Francisco.”

The accompanying extract from the register of the Institution, in the Sister Superior’s hand, tells of the commencement of the work:

"The Sisters of Charity from St. Joseph's House, Emitsburgh, Maryland, whose mother house is in Paris, founded a branch of their order in Las Gallinas, on a tract of land donated to the Most Rev. Archbishop Alemany by Don Timothy Murphy.

"The Sisters erected a wooden building, the cost of which amounted to five thousand dollars. Sister M. Corsina McRey, Donna Barbara, Miss Glover and four children, took possession of it, January seventh, 1855, and on the same day opened a school for the maintenance and education of children in the neighboring district.

"The above institution we organized under the name of St. Vincent's Seminary. Subsequent to the above-mentioned period, we added other improvements, viz., fencing, etc.

"SISTER FRANCIS McENNIS,

"Directress of St. Vincent's."

By the foregoing the reader is put in possession of the origin of the Catholic institution of San Rafael, of which we shall speak more at large in a subsequent page. For a year the Sisters remained in charge of the school, but desirous of concentrating their efforts in the city, they resigned the appointment in favor of a secular priest, Rev. Father Maurice.

That part of the community that remained in the city, in addition to the care of the orphans, conducted also a day school for the children of the

locality. Their success in this particular branch of their vocation was such, that, in 1857, they were necessitated to erect an additional building, that at present known as St. Vincent's School, on Jessie street. There they had a wider scope for their exertions. The little ones who hitherto remained entirely at home, or received instruction at Protestant hands, now repaired to the Sisters, and learned, together with those branches of secular instruction requisite for their condition in life, those principles of religion and morality which alone are to be learned from Catholic sources.

The number of orphans and pupils still increasing, the Sisters, in 1861, purchased several acres of land in the vicinity of the city, at Silver Terrace, where they erected another asylum, dedicated to the great patriarch, St. Joseph. At first, only a limited wooden building was constructed; but the requirements becoming pressing, and the benevolence of the work being generally acknowledged, the public again came to their aid, and enabled them to make considerable improvements and additions, till at present, one hundred and fifty destitute orphans find a home with these Sisters. In 1866, another considerable building was opened in the city for a like purpose, but even this was shortly found insufficient for the numbers of homeless, parentless little ones. In order, then, to meet every requirement, an institution of noble dimensions, capable of affording accommodations to from

two to three thousand orphans, was begun and is yet in course of erection, without the city, at Hunter's Point. This building, when completed, will be probably the finest public edifice in or around San Francisco. Built on an eminence to the west of the city, it has the advantage of enjoying a commanding view of the bay and the country in every direction. In a sanitary point, it is not probably to be excelled, its only objectionable feature being its too unfavorable exposure to the westerly breezes; but this, though less desirable than might be ambitioned, will not, it is thought, prove prejudicial to the health of the inmates. The entire cost of the building when completed, will probably reach the considerable sum of a quarter of a million of dollars. The source whence this money is to be derived, is the sale of the property spoken of above, as donated to the orphans in the city; so that, by reason of this liberal and munificent gift, the names of Messrs. Jasper O'Farrell, John Sullivan and Timothy Murphy become intimately connected with one of the noblest institutions of charity on the Pacific coast of America.

With just and legitimate pride the Catholics of the archdiocese point to this and other kindred erections as the result of their own liberality joined to the noble and philanthropic exertions of our faithful Religious in behalf of abandoned, suffering humanity. And it is to be hoped that as the doors

of this most benevolent institute—the home of the fatherless—will be open to all from every part of the country without any distinction of class or creed, its claims will not be forgotten, for the cause of the orphan is the cause of religion—the cause of God.

Upon the retirement of the Sisters of Charity from St. Vincent's school in 1855, the care of the institution, as has been remarked, passed into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Maurice, by whom it was administered for the two subsequent years. On its transfer from the Sisters, its original name was altered from that of St. Vincent to St. Rafael, by which it has since continued to be known.

In 1857 Father Maurice was succeeded in his office by Father Auger, the present pastor of Suisun, who was succeeded a year later by the Rev. (now Right Rev.) Dr. Lootens, bishop of Idaho. During the incumbency of Father Lootens, some improvement was effected, though not entirely all that could be desired in consequence of an absence of the necessary means. The pastoral duties of the Rev. Father, too, which were then very extensive, prevented him from devoting that attention to the institution which its requirement demanded. Under the circumstances, however, a little was done. A pretty little church erected at a cost of three thousand dollars, and capable of accommodating one hundred persons, with additions to the original building at a cost of five

thousand more, are to be attributed to the zeal and exertions of that director. But it was not till it passed under the charge of the present superior, Rev. Father Birmingham, that the character of the institution was raised to its actual satisfactory standard. Father Birmingham took charge in 1868, and since then it is only just to acknowledge that the most satisfactory and gratifying results have been witnessed. Indeed, so carefully and satisfactorily is the institute managed at present that it is now a pride and an honor to the community.

Zealous in the cause of suffering humanity, the Rev. Father has left nothing undone to provide for the wants and requirements of the little ones entrusted to his care. Already he has expended on the erection and enlargement of buildings and other general improvements, between twenty and thirty thousand dollars. But not even this, though a considerable outlay, suffices for all the requirements. To make the place an entirely satisfactory institute, fifty or sixty thousand dollars additional are needed for building purposes. The number of boys at present in the asylum is over two hundred. The interior management is in part conducted by Religieuse of the order of St. Dominic. To these Father Birmingham is largely indebted for the admirable order and cleanliness that reign in the institute. Were there sufficient accommodations and means of support a much larger num-

ber of children could be obtained, and considering the very praiseworthy nature of the charity—the protection of the orphan—it is to be hoped that the charitable public will direct their attention more to its interests in future, especially as a fund of only fifty or a hundred thousand dollars would be needed to raise the necessary buildings, where all would be able to find a comfortable and hospitable home.

The present annual cost of the institution, which is conducted on the most economical scale, is between eighteen and twenty thousand dollars, one portion of which is raised by an annual fair, and the remainder supplied by his Grace from his limited means. The location is admirably adapted to an institution of the kind. Situated at a short distance from the town of San Rafael, whither there is daily steamer communication from San Francisco, it has all the advantages of an excellent country climate and ready access to the city. The facilities will be further enhanced on the completion of the San Francisco and Petaluma railroad, which will pass close to the asylum. Attached to the institute are one thousand acres of land, but the greater part being only a mountain tract, the advantages derived are not so great.

In the vicinity are a few scattered families of native Christians, descendants of the former inhabitants of the old missions. They live like their unconverted brethren by fishing and hunting and

laboring for the whites. Their language is a mixture of Spanish and the old vernacular; during life they pay little attention to religion, but at the moment of death they are careful to call for the services of a priest.

The rapid increase in the Catholic population during the two years immediately following the discovery of gold, and especially the extent over which the people were scattered, demanded, towards the beginning of 1852, the services of an additional prelate. A representation to this effect having been made to the proper authority, the country was divided, and San Francisco created into an archdiocese, with Monterey and Los Angeles as suffragan. The coast boundary of the former was drawn from Santa Cruz town northward as far as the forty-second degree of latitude, a distance of about one thousand miles. On the east it was bounded by New Mexico, Kansas and Nebraska. The country south from Santa Cruz to the Mexican border, or Lower California, formed the limits of the Monterey and Los Angeles See. Later on, in 1856, the Mexican government was desirous of obtaining a bishop for Lower California, and solicited the acceptance of the Very Rev. Father Gonzales, but he having declined, no further efforts were made by the government, and that section of the country remained as before under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Sonora, whose residence is at Culiacan.

To the newly-founded archdiocese of San Francisco, Dr. Alemany was transferred in the month of July, 1853. In the following year, Right Rev Dr. Amat, succeeded to the bishopric of Monterey and Los Angeles.

On the arrival of the archbishop, the Rev. Father Gallagher, of whom mention has been made before, was deputed by his grace to be the bearer of the Pallium from the Eternal City. His visit to Europe was also intended to be otherwise advantageous to the mission. The rapidly increasing population of the country, and the certainty that before long its numbers would be very considerably increased, made it a matter of imperative necessity to think of establishing additional religious communities, whose duties it would be to attend to the instruction of youth and the care of the infirm. Even then, although as we have seen, the Sisters of Charity were already established in the city, numbers of children were either not receiving instruction, or obtaining it from objectionable sources.

In the discharge of his commission, Father Gallagher succeeded in obtaining the services of two religious communities—Nuns of the Presentation order and Sisters of Mercy. These were the pioneer Religious of these two highly-prized orders, whose labors have since been attended with such remarkable success on this coast. We shall first speak of those of the presentation order. After a

tedious voyage of several months, they arrived in California on the thirteenth November, 1854. Not finding any establishment prepared for their reception, they suffered for a time no little inconvenience, but sustained by the kind and encouraging words of the archbishop, they cheerfully entered on the object of their mission—faced the difficulties before them—and before long had the happiness and consolation to know that their mission was a success. In December, a few weeks after their arrival, they opened a day-school in an humble little building, where gratuitous education was given to the children of the poorer classes in the community. The school was rapidly filled, even to inconvenience, but yet the Sisters, seeing the great spiritual want, were unwilling to refuse any of the applicants, trusting to the divine Providence to enable them to erect within a little a more suitable building. In this their hopes were not illusory. A generous ecclesiastic, the present pastor of Petaluma, was the first to come to their aid. With a generosity and zeal worthy of the highest commendation, he donated to the Sisters fifteen hundred dollars, which he had received from the city authorities for his services in the educational department. This was speedily increased by other donations from friends of the poor, until at length a sum sufficient to erect the present convent on Powell street, a building eighty-four by forty-five feet, was collected. The entire

through its halls have done good service to religion, and proven themselves pious, active and devoted priests.

The first president of this diocesan seminary was the present bishop of Marysville or Grass Valley, whose name has already occurred in these pages. Before the establishment of the institute, Dr. O'Connell was president and professor in the College of Santa Ynez, near Santa Barbara, whence he was called to the charge of St. Thomas', as being the most qualified and experienced in the training of youth for the ecclesiastical state. Here he continued to labor till his departure for Ireland, whither he returned in 1855, to occupy his former position as one of the directors of the missionary college of All Hallows. He was succeeded by Rev. Father Carroll, who continued president till his death, when the management of the institute passed into the hands of Father Prendergast, who remained in charge till his appointment as assistant pastor to the Cathedral, from which date the seminary has ceased to exist.

The same year that witnessed the establishment of St. Thomas's seminary also beheld the dedication of the new cathedral on California and Dupont streets. The building, which is of the gothic order, is a commodious and handsome structure, capable of affording accommodation to about fifteen hundred persons. The foundation stone was laid on the seventeenth of July on the pre-

ceding year, amid a large concourse of people, and the opening services held on the twenty-fifth December, 1854, when the building was solemnly dedicated to the worship of the Almighty, under the patronage of the blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God. Attached to the cathedral is the archiepiscopal residence, a handsome, imposing structure.

The second body of Religious who came to the country at this time were, as we have mentioned, the Sisters of Mercy. They were eight in number, five professed Sisters and three Novices. From the very beginning the protecting hand of Providence seemed to have guarded them. On the eighth September, 1854, they left Kinsale for Dublin, where they were immediately to take shipping for New York. They had determined upon sailing in the "Arctic" then leaving the port, but by a most fortunate circumstance in not being able to obtain the necessary accommodation on board, they were necessitated to await the next vessel. The delay saved them their lives, for the "Arctic" and her passengers were lost while crossing the Atlantic.

Their voyage from Ireland to California was as agreeable as they could have reasonably expected; not such, however, the reception they met with from a portion of the inhabitants of San Francisco, on their landing. The spirit of Protestantism was not then exactly what it is now. In-

tolerance and anti-Catholic prejudice, those banes of society seemed to have taken a large hold on men's minds in those days. One would, indeed, have supposed that their character as ladies, independent entirely of their religious profession as teachers of the ignorant and guardians of the poor, would have shielded them from the gross and vituperative aspersions of the malevolent. But such was not the case. The spirit of knownothingism was abroad, and hence the arrival of a number of Catholic Religions was the occasion for a display of anti-Catholic feeling, to which we are sorry it is our duty to be obliged to refer.

The day after the Sisters had landed, a succurrulous communication, under the heading of "Carried Past the Port," appeared in one of the Protestant papers, improperly called the "Christian Advocate." This was followed by others of a similar nature, in which the writer dealt largely in abuse of Catholicity, but especially of the Religious. Meantime, however, the Sisters took no notice of the bitter invectives. Trusting to the purity of their motives and the entirely charitable nature of their vocation, they believed that as soon as the Protestant community would learn the tenor of their lives and the true end of their institute, prejudice would be disarmed and bigotry removed. In this they were not mistaken.

Within a month after their arrival they obtained permission to visit and tend the sick and dying

in the city and county hospital. For a time their labors passed comparatively unnoticed, but when in the autumn, the cholera appeared, their noble and devoted attentions to the sufferers elicited the highest eulogium from all but the utterly intolerant portion of the community. In an article of that date, the editor of the "Daily Times" thus speaks of their charitable endeavors: "We visited yesterday the patients in the State marine hospital; a more horrible and ghastly sight we have seldom witnessed. In the midst of this scene of sorrow, pain, anguish and danger, were some four or five ministering angels, who disregarded everything to render aid to their distressed fellow-creatures. The Sisters of Mercy, rightly named, whose convent is immediately opposite the hospital, as soon as they learned the state of things, hurried to offer their services. They did not stop to inquire whether the poor sufferers were Protestants or Catholics, Americans or foreigners, but with the noblest devotion applied themselves to their relief. One Sister would be seen bathing the limbs of a sufferer, another chafing the extremities, and the third applying the usual remedies for the disease, while others with a pitying face were calming the fears of those who were supposed to be dying. The idea of danger never seemed to occur to these noble women. In the performance of the vows of their order they heeded nothing of the kind. If any of the lives of the unfortunate are

saved they will in a great measure owe their preservation to those ladies."

Shortly after this, on the sixteenth of the same month, the entire care and management of the hospital was handed over to the Sisters by the city authorities. In the document conveying the charge to the Religious was the following paragraph: "That from and after the twenty-second day of October, 1855, the Sisters of Mercy, known to this community as philanthropists, who refuse all pecuniary reward for their self-sacrificing devotion to the care of the sick and destitute, shall have charge of and provide for the care and maintenance of the indigent sick of the county of San Francisco," etc.

Eight days after the Sisters entered on their charge. The light in which the arrangement was viewed by a portion of the Protestant community was most favorable and gratifying to them. The editor of the "Sun" spoke of them in an editorial in the most complimentary manner. There was, however, an illiberal party in the community to whom the action of the civil authorities gave the greatest displeasure. These, we are sorry to say, like the writers in the "Advocate," hesitated not to pour out the most unmitigated calumnies against the holy Religious. A few months after entering on their charitable mission, a series of slanderous articles began to appear in the Protestant journals, but especially in the pages of the

"Bulletin," calling into question the entire unfitness and inability of the Sisters to manage the Institute. The bold and positive manner in which the assertions were made, had the effect of shaking the faith and confidence of many. They were charged not only with incompetency and inability, but with inhumanity, partiality and robbery. To rebut such atrocious assertions, it was thought that the most effective and honorable course, under the circumstances, would be to call for a public investigation by the civil authorities. The grand jury, accordingly, in compliance with the Sisters' desire, made an examination of the hospital, and thoroughly exonerated them from all the charges made against them by their enemies. The report of the commissioners was published in the "Herald" of that date, and elicited the most complimentary remarks. It was also followed by several letters from private individuals, attesting to the zeal, devotion and capability of the Religious.

CHAPTER X.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL.—INFLUENCE OF THE SISTERS' LIVES ON THE PATIENTS.—CONVERSIONS.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MAGDALEN ASYLUM.—REFORMATION OF THE PENITENTS.—THE SISTERS TAKE CHARGE OF THE PEST HOUSE.—CONVERSIONS.—THE SISTERS ATTEND THE JAIL.—THEIR SUCCESS IN REFORMING THE CULPRITS.

THE justification of the Sisters by the report of the grand jury, and the letters of private individuals, completely silenced their enemies, and prevented their being subjected to further attack by the hostile members of the press. Obstacles, however, were thrown in their way, which eventually necessitated them to resign the management of the hospital. For several months the authorities neglected furnishing the means requisite for meeting the necessary expenses. This proving too heavy a burden, they were reluctantly obliged to resign charge of the Institute. An effort was then made to get up for them an establishment of their own, where, without fear of incurring the odium of party, they might be able to exercise their holy vocation in behalf of suffering humanity. To this end, his Grace, the Archbishop, commissioned the Rev. Father King, whose name will long be remembered by Catholics in and around San Francisco, to collect funds for the contemplated object. The Sisters at

the same time issued an address of their own, explaining the nature and object of their institute, as an inducement to the charitable to subscribe. The answer made by the public to the appeal, was the subscription, within three months, of six thousand six hundred dollars. Of this, Father King collected close on three thousand, to which he would have added very considerably, only being prevented by sickness from continuing his charitable mission. With the moneys thus subscribed by a generous public, the erection of a Catholic hospital was immediately begun, which, when completed, must have cost close on one hundred thousand dollars. It was placed under the protection of the Blessed Virgin, being named St. Mary's Hospital. Thither the community retired in 1856, where they have since continued to exercise with unfailing attention the duties of their holy vocation.

The very important advantages resulting from the ministration of the Religious are of a two-fold character; they affect the soul as well as the body. Without at all obtruding their religious convictions on those entrusted to their charge, the simple example of their lives and their attention to the duties of their state, have awakened in many a sense of religion, and even effected the conversion of several. A few of the more notable cases will not be uninteresting to the reader.

During their charge of the city and county hos-

pital, there happened to be among the patients a man named William Johnson, an American Protestant. Near to Johnson, in the same ward, was another patient afflicted with a virulent ulcer which emitted a most disagreeable odor. The minister who occasionally visited the hospital called upon Johnson, prayed for and comforted him as best he knew. Then turning, he proceeded to comfort the other, but perceiving the disagreeable effluvia he stopped short, remained at some distance and holding his nostrils, prayed in secret. The prayer ended, the attendant Sister approached the dying man, and with her handkerchief wiped the perspiration from his brow and the saliva from his lips. Johnson, who was a keen observer of men and manners, carefully noted the conduct of both; the lesson was a silent, but an important one, and he laid it to heart. Next time when the minister visited as usual, looking him full in the face, Johnson cried out, in a voice not difficult to be heard: "Begone. If I were as offensive as my companion you would not dare to approach me," and then turning to the Sister, he said: "Call for a priest; I desire to be instructed in the Catholic religion." He was, and after being fully convinced of the truth of the Church, was admitted to the holy sacrament of baptism.

Timothy Joseph Harris, another American and Protestant, from the State of Vermont or New Hampshire, was admitted into the hospital with a

wound in the arm, caused by an accidental discharge of a musket. He was an intelligent, cultivated young man, but exceedingly prejudiced against the Catholic religion. He had the idea, as he afterwards acknowledged, that the ministrations of Catholics, and especially of Religious, were confined exclusively to their own. Observing, on the contrary, how the Sisters attended and comforted all indiscriminately, his astonishment was great. The doctors, fearing mortification of the arm, were about proceeding to amputation, but by his urgent entreaties for a little delay, they deferred the operation for a while. Meantime, by the care and attention of the Religious, the necessity of amputating the member was rendered unnecessary; and then came the most important event of his life. While waiting to be thoroughly cured, he called for some books to occupy his attention. The first Catholic books he had ever read were those then put into his hands, and much was his surprise at finding them different from all he had been led to suppose regarding the Catholic faith. These finished, he called for others, and continued to read until he was perfectly convinced of the truth of the Catholic Church. What impressed him not a little from a different quarter was the visible change for the better in the manner of a fellow-companion who had been received into the Church at the time. But unwilling to give any one an opportunity of questioning his motives, he defer-

red making his profession of faith till discharged from the hospital, lest it might be supposed he had changed in compliance with the wishes of the Sisters. The greatest difficulty he experienced was in the matter of confession, not that he disbelieved in its efficacy, but because of the utter repugnance he felt in unburthening his conscience to a minister of religion. But even this he afterwards conquered, when he was baptized and admitted to the most adorable Eucharist, which he received with the most edifying sentiments of piety.

Frederick Nessinger, a German Lutheran, was a very strict and conscientious believer in his own religion, and most prejudiced against all others. Having been a considerable time in the hospital, he obtained and read a large number of Catholic works, but was not yet convinced. He continued to read, and at length, by the grace of God, came to see the truth and embraced it. Then we find in the hospital registry such entries as these: "Bridget Mary, Chinese; baptized and received the last sacraments." "Daniel Smyth, American; no religion; baptized and continued a firm Catholic." "James Pendlebury, English; Episcopalian; baptized and made his first communion." "Joseph Thompson, Norwegian; Lutheran; baptized, confirmed and made his first communion," etc. In fine, the entire number of adults thus received into the Church by the kindness and at-

tention of the Sisters, amounted in all to close on two hundred, the majority of whom have gone to receive their everlasting reward in the kingdom of Heaven, where they shall ever remember with unspeakable gratitude the labors and virtues of those who were the occasion of earning for them such unutterable happiness.

Beside the ordinary conversions effected in the manner described, by the perusal of Catholic books and the observance of the devotion and fidelity of the Sisters in the discharge of the duties of their holy vocation, there were others of a very unusual and, indeed, extraordinary nature, an instance or two of which it is only proper to place upon record. These remarkable conversions the Sisters have always attributed to the powerful intercession of the glorious Mother of God. In February of the year 1855, there happened to be in the hospital a patient, whose utter abhorrence of everything savoring of religion, and his apparently fixed determination to die in that state, caused him to be known and regarded as the "Hardened Man." He was an Irishman and a Catholic; but having embraced a naval life, he not only forgot the practice of his religion, but unhappily fell into great habits of vice and infidelity. Repeatedly did he refuse and even repulse in the rudest manner every effort of the Religious to awaken in him a sense of his position. On one occasion he forgot himself so far as to snatch the crucifix from the Sis-

ter's hands, and to dash it violently on the ground. In short, so utterly confirmed did he seem in his crimes, that it appeared better not to speak to him further on religion, as the mere mention thereof became only the signal for a burst of the most frightful abuse of everything sacred. Seeing, however, that he was fast approaching his end, that he might not die in his sins, the Sister one night earnestly recommended him to the blessed Virgin Mary, taking care, at the same time, to have a miraculous medal placed secretly in his pillow. On entering the ward in the morning, her joy and surprise is hardly to be described, on finding the hitherto obstinate impious man now mourning his crimes, lamenting his life, and begging, for the love of the Almighty, to have a priest brought to him to hear his confession. After receiving the sacrament, so marked was the change in his manner, his last days being as edifying as his former were scandalous, that from this circumstance alone the conversion of a Mr. C. is to be attributed.

More remarkable still was the conversion of General Williams in a similar manner. On the second of July, the general, who was an American, and of no religion, was admitted into the hospital. He was suffering from acute disease of the heart, which, added to a naturally violent temper, rendered him almost a terror to his attendants. Though the presence of the Sisters restrained him a little, yet, when suffering violently, he would in-

dulge in terrible oaths, imprecations, and otherwise objectionable language. One night, while thus giving way to his passion, the Sister expostulated with him, reminding him that perhaps before morning he would be in the presence of his God. To this he answered in a violent manner: "Let me alone; I care not if I die like a dog; I only wish the Almighty would take me this moment."

Seeing that further advice would be ineffectual in restraining his violence, the Sister, before leaving for the night, slipped a miraculous medal under his pillow, beseeching the Mother of Mercy to take upon herself the care of his salvation. As in the previous instance, on visiting him in the morning, she found him, to her great joy and consolation, an entirely altered man. His manner, his words, his tone, in a word, his whole demeanor was entirely different. He begged pardon for the rudeness of the previous night, declared he now desired to alter his life, and added: "I cannot understand what has come over me! I cannot account for the change I feel in myself; what can it be?" As he continued thus the Sister thought she had better tell him what she felt convinced had really effected the change; to which he answered: "It must be that; it is *certainly miraculous*; I cannot account for it; show me the medal." After gazing at it for some time with tears in his eyes he would have it put on a string and placed round his neck.

Next day, in presence of Major Roman and Dr. C. F. Sawyer, he formally renounced freemasonry, of which he was a prominent member, when he was formally received into our holy religion. After this he rallied a little, but died on the eighth October, after receiving all the rites of the Church.

To these several other instances might be added, illustrative in a like manner of the great power and efficacy of the prayers of the blessed Virgin Mary. Not, however, to weary the reader, we shall only mention one or two more. Sometime in the year 1866 one of the Lay-Sisters lost the use of her reason, and remained for several months a confirmed lunatic. Everything that charity could suggest or medical skill effect was done for her, but in vain. Her case seemed utterly hopeless. As a final resource, her state was earnestly recommended to the holy "Apostleship of Prayer," a society whose business it is to recommend the needy to God. Her immediate recovery was the result; it was in this manner, as recorded by the Religious themselves: "In the beginning of November she had an attack of unusual violence, during which she seemed entirely beside herself. By degrees, however, she calmed down, and on the Friday before the Feast of the Patronage of the Blessed Virgin was found up and dressed rather earlier than usual. In a quiet and sensible manner she asked if it was not Friday, and on being answered in the affirmative, she expressed a wish to go to

confession. The Sisters were afraid to permit her, however they did so, and from that hour she was perfectly cured. Her recovery, which was evidently miraculous, they attributed to the prayers of the "Apostleship of Prayer."

Another of the Religious, Sister M. de C., was almost a complete cripple, her left knee being very much swollen and inflamed in consequence of frequent attacks of neuralgia. So critical was her condition that the physicians deemed amputation necessary, and, indeed, the only hope of saving her life, but from her advanced age and impaired constitution, fearing she might sink under the operation, it was deemed better to leave her in the hands of the Almighty. Eight days before the Feast of Corpus Christi, the community began a Novena, in which the afflicted Sister joined. At the same time she daily applied, with great faith, to the suffering member some of the oil from the lamp kept burning in presence of the adorable Eucharist. At first there was no very marked change, each day, however, she felt somewhat easier, but on Corpus Christi she astonished the entire community by kneeling upright during the half hour's adoration. And from that day to this her knee has given her no further pain!

In the appeal made by the Sisters to the public for funds for the erection of an hospital, of which we have spoken before, it was stated that one of the ends of the Order of Mercy was the protec-

tion and reformation of unfortunate females. In every country, but especially in a land such as this, where at first the restraints of society were fewer and slighter, and the allurements to vice greater and more numerous than in older and better organized bodies, the necessity of such charitable institutes is unhappily but too painfully clear. For a time, while engaged in the erection of the hospital, they were unwillingly necessitated to postpone their charitable resolve, but on the completion of that building, they immediately applied themselves to this most merciful object of their Institute.

From the middle of the year 1859, a few penitent creatures enjoyed the protection of the Religious, but it was not till the year 1862, that a regular establishment was opened for their benefit. On the second of March of that year, the Sisters and penitents, to the number of eight, took possession of a frame building, destined for their temporary use, in Hayes Valley. There they remained till the fifteenth of January, 1865, when they were transferred to their present asylum on Potrero road. As the reformation of the unfortunates was a public advantage, and a work of the most charitable nature, the Legislature granted a liberal sum in behalf of the Institute. How richly the Sisters merited the kind notice of the authorities, and the approval of all virtuous minds is evinced by the fact, that from the second of March, 1862, the date

of the opening of the Institute, till the twenty-second of January, 1863, a period of only ten months, they reclaimed from lives of sin and shame, no less than thirty-one unhappy, abandoned women. The total number that has hitherto enjoyed the benefits of the institution has been between four and five hundred, nearly all of whom, it is to be hoped, have been brought to a sense of religion and a reformation of life. But the difficulties encountered in reforming these victims of crime are oftentimes greater than the public is aware of. Prayer, fasting and penitential exercises are not unfrequently resorted to when all other means are found unavailing. An instance will suffice. A. R., a Chilian by birth, after leading a most profligate life for a number of years, eventually fell into a state of idiocy, and was placed by her friends in the asylum. When spoken to on ordinary matters, she paid not the slightest attention, but the moment religion was named, she became fearfully excited, and would give vent to her passion in a volley of oaths and obscenity. What particularly seemed to annoy her, was the presence of holy water, which, if sprinkled in her room, caused her to be beside herself with passion. After every effort that charity and ingenuity could suggest was tried, but in vain, to bring her to a consciousness of her unhappy position, it was finally determined to recommend her to God by prayer and fasting. The Religious accordingly

divided themselves into nine bodies, each fasting one day, and offering the Litany of the Saints and the Penitential Psalms for her recovery and conversion. A few days after the expiration of the Novena, she appeared very much altered, requested permission to go to her confession, and from that hour till the moment of her death, which happened three years later, continued as gentle as a lamb, and lived a practical Christian life, attending regularly to all her religious duties.

Although the labors of the Sisters in behalf of the unfortunate Magdalens, and in the care and attendance of the sick entrusted to their charge up to that date, won the praise and approval of all unprejudiced minds, their noble and heroic devotion in behalf of poor suffering humanity has never been seen to such absolute advantage, or in so engaging a light as in the terrible epidemic, by which the city and county was visited in 1868. In April of that year, the first cases of a virulent small-pox disease occurred in the city. At first, the inhabitants paid little attention to a matter of so ordinary a nature; a couple of months and the town, it was thought, would be entirely freed from its presence. When, however, contrary to the general belief, the cases kept steadily advancing, and had reached the considerable number of fifty by the beginning of June, the community began to be seriously alarmed, especially as those infected with the disease were obliged by the au-

thorities to go to the pest-house, where death was almost certain to be the result, in consequence of a want of the necessary care and attention. Rumors of the ill-treatment and neglect of the unfortunate sufferers having reached the ears of the Sisters, they immediately, with that devotion and self-sacrifice for which they are so universally known, addressed the following letter to the medical gentleman in charge of the patients:

“To Beverly Cole, M. D.:

“SIR—It is one of the privileges of our order of Mercy that we attend on our fellow-creatures in whatever form of disease it is the Divine Will to afflict them. Therefore, if the city authorities are willing to accept our services two, of the Sisters will, D. V., go to the pest-house and take up their residence there until such time as the Almighty will be pleased to deliver the city from the terrible malady.

“If the authorities are willing to accept our services we shall go on Monday, the seventeenth. One small room is all we require; you know the accommodations of a Sister of Mercy are very simple. We have been vaccinated lately.

“Yours faithfully in Christ,

“SISTER MARY BROWN,

“Superioress of Sisters of Mercy.”

This offer was gratefully accepted by the authorities, and the Sisters accordingly entered on their

charitable mission. The light in which their labors were regarded by the Protestant community may be best inferred from the following extract which appeared at the time in one of the dailies: "It was almost with a feeling of shame for Protestantism that we saw the other day when the continual complaint of mal-administration, and neglect of patients at the Vasilala hospital in this city, seemed to be without a remedy, none of our religious denominations, save the Catholic Church, had any organization which could furnish intelligent, kind, competent female nurses to enter that home of misery and take charge of its ministration to the crowd of suffering humanity it contains.

"Those devoted Catholic Sisters of Mercy voluntarily presented themselves, and entered upon their mission of charity, from which all others shrank in dismay and affright. That their presence there will have a beneficial effect none can doubt; already the good effects of their presence are apparent. This fearless, self-sacrificing charity is an honor to their Church and to their order."

The very arduous nature of the Sisters' position, and the happy results attending their devoted exertions, it would be difficult to justly describe. Of the former the accompanying extract of a letter written at the time by one of the Religious to a friend will give the reader a tolerable idea: "It (the small-pox) is truly a horrible disease, so

loathsome, so disgusting, so pitiable, twice the number of patients with any other disease would not require the care and attention those afflicted with small-pox require, not one spot from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head sound. The eyes of the greater number closed, and pus running from them down their cheeks, their throat so sore that to take a drink almost chokes them, the tongue in some instances so swollen that one drop cannot pass down, their hands so sore they are helpless, and then the *mal-odor* so terrible that they themselves cry out: 'Oh, Sister, I cannot stand the smell.' " The letter then goes on to speak of the dispositions of the sufferers, and how no other minister except the Catholic priest dared to enter the hospital. "On two occasions they (Protestant clergymen) were sent for. In the first instance the messenger returned with word that the minister could not come as his family would be in danger! The second time it was an American lady, pious in her own way, and terribly troubled at the idea of dying unbaptized, but with a good share of prejudice against Catholics; we were almost sure the minister she sent for would come, as he was an unmarried man, and especially as people are beginning to make remarks through the city that no one but the priests and the Sisters put a foot inside these doors. * * * The messenger returned, saying that the gentleman could not come on account of his congregation, who

would desert him if he entered the pest house! When poor Mrs. C., the lady in question, saw the little dependence she could place on her cowardly shepherd, she consented to have the priest; so she was baptized by Father Hayes, who gave her the name of 'Mary Gabriel,' in honor of our mother, who happened to come that day to pay us a visit, and felt glad, knowing that ere long, her namesake would be an additional intercessor for us all in Heaven."

The writer next continues to give an account of some remarkable conversions, the substance of which we prefer giving in our own words. While the epidemic was at its highest, there happened to be admitted into the hospital a young man in the bloom of life. To interrogatories of the Sisters, inquiring if he had ever been baptized, he answered in the negative and added that he did not intend to be either. His father, he said, was an infidel, he was the same; but his mother, who was a praying woman, used to be halloaing, a thing in which he did not believe. His case being a very dangerous and virulent one, leaving little or no hope of his ultimate recovery, the Sisters made every effort to rouse him to a sense of his position, but were as frequently repulsed with the cold and irreligious expression, "I don't believe." In fine, when everything else had failed, an appeal to his better nature to the effect that if there were no God, why should the Sisters be there attending

to such loathsome cases, not for gold or silver, but for the love of that God that he denied, drew from him the admission that if there were a God, and if there were a true Church on earth, that God and that Church were to be sought amongst the Catholics. But at the same time he repeated his former declarations that he did not believe. Not despairing still of his final conversion, the Sisters went through the hospital, begging the prayers of the patients in behalf of the poor, unhappy infidel. The effect was as consoling as it was remarkable. He no longer spoke of not believing, but his life was so bad, his career so wicked. Evidently divine grace had touched his soul; the prayers of the patients and the Religious were manifestly heard, and the infidelity into which he had unhappily nursed himself during health, was now giving place to the dominion of reason and the empire of religion. In fine, on one of those occasions, when the attendants would remind him of the danger of his position, after a moment of significative silence, during which reason and irreligion, nature and grace, were evidently warring, the poor sufferer said, with the deepest emotion: "Oh, how can I dissolve every tie of friendship, every bond of love, with my father, mother, brothers and sisters? I cannot do it." And then he added: "You are not probably aware that there is a greater prejudice against Catholics in Maine and one or two adjoining States, than in all the rest of America."

His case was now an entirely different one ; it was not that he did not believe, but that he feared the censure of the world, that imaginary phantom which, unhappily, but too often, prevents many from embracing our holy religion. A little encouragement, however, from the Sister, and he conquered even this difficulty, and received with much faith the holy sacrament of baptism. He expired on the following evening ; but shortly before his death, to an inquiry as to how he felt, he answered : “ I feel very happy ; there is a load off my heart ; how can I ever repay you for your goodness ? ” Thus died in strong sentiments of religion and piety T. I. R., who, only a little before, had declared himself an infidel—an unbeliever in every form of religion.

The ministrations of the Nuns are not confined to the care and attendance of the sick, and the protection and reformation of the Magdalens ; they are further exercised in behalf of the unhappy victims of crime, who, for violation of the laws of the country, happen to be subjected to imprisonment and death. In accordance with a privilege granted by the public authorities, the Religious are permitted to visit the city and county jail, and to exercise their mission of charity in behalf of the unfortunate inmates. Frequently their efforts in this field of their labor have been marked by the most unexpected and gratifying success.

Out of several instances we shall introduce only one to the notice of the reader.

W. M. was an outlaw or highwayman, who had given much annoyance to the powers that be. For years he had defied every effort of the local authorities to capture or restrain him in his lawless career. Eventually, however, he fell into the hands of the officers of justice, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. So desperate was his character, and so little worthy was he deemed of compassion, that several privileges granted to his companions were sedulously denied him. Confined in a dark cell, without the smallest glimpse of light, heavily chained both by the hands and feet to an iron ring in the ground, he presented rather the appearance of a savage beast than of a human being. Even with these precautions, the jailer would not open his cell without being accompanied by a couple of his staff, and seemed entirely astonished to think that the Religious could have courage to approach him.

At first, they found him a very hardened and perverse soul; they could not bring him to any feeling or sense of sorrow for his numerous crimes. What seemed to afflict him most, and from which he shrunk in agony, and would prevent at any cost, even at the expense of self-destruction, was the satisfaction he knew the public would enjoy in witnessing him undergoing the extreme penalty of the law. "Never," he would

exclaim, "shall they have the gratification of seeing me hanging from the gibbet." But though rude and unmanageable towards others, he was ever kind and gentle to the Sisters, and this coupled with the fact that he had received the grace of baptism, and had been once to confession, gave them the hope, that by constant and unremitting attention, they would eventually succeed in bringing him to a sense of his awful position. They were not deceived. By frequent exhortation and the aid of pious books, which they induced him to read, they succeeded, under God, in touching his heart. The proud and savage mind yielded at length to their mild and gentle influence; religion had spoken to his heart—the tiger was become a lamb. A general confession immediately followed; after which, he received for the first time the adorable Eucharist; was confirmed, and invested with the scapular. From that moment he gave up all communication with the outer world, and conversed only with the priest and the Sisters on religious matters.

As the time of execution drew near, he gave himself more and more to prayer, devoting several hours each day to religious exercises and pious meditations on the world to come. On the morning of his death he received holy communion with such fervor, and appeared so penitent, as to move the religious to tears. But, thinking that they wept with sorrow at his untimely end, and

not rather with Christian joy over his complete conversion to God, he begged them not to mourn but rather to rejoice and be glad, for that years had passed since he knew the peace and happiness he enjoyed on that occasion. "Do not grieve," said he, "it is glad you ought to be that I die to-day; long years have passed since I knew the peace of mind that fills my heart this morning. Oh, if you knew the temptations that I have had to commit self-destruction, you would feel how merciful God has been to me; I go to death happy." And then addressing the priest, who seemed to be much moved, he said: "Father, do not give way, you must be as firm as a rock." On the scaffold it was the same; his conduct surprised every one, and became the subject of the most favorable comment. Thus by the labors and exertions of the holy Religious, whose vocation it is to pour the balm of comfort and consolation into the afflicted heart, and to dispose the evil-minded and perverse to repentance, one of the roughest and most intractable natures, but a nature which under other and more favorable circumstances might be an honor to society, was brought into the most edifying submission to the stern necessity of the law, and awakened to a true and proper sense of religion and repentance.

CHAPTER XI.

PIONEER MISSIONARIES.—THEIR LIFE.—SICK CALLS.—INCREASE OF THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY.—APPOINTMENT OF BISHOP O'CONNELL.—PROGRESS OF RELIGION UNDER HIS ADMINISTRATION.—PROGRESS OF RELIGION IN THE DIOCESE OF MONTEREY.—INCREASE OF CHURCHES IN SAN FRANCISCO.—EDUCATION.—CONCLUSION.

TO THE increase in the population of the archdiocese, and the formation of the country missions, the attention of the reader is now invited.

During the years 1849–50, the numerous country towns, which have since become such important centres of trade and mining operations, were springing into existence. Already, in 1850, Sacramento, Marysville, Placerville, Weaverville, and Grass Valley were places of considerable importance. Several thousand inhabitants had settled in these respective localities, and, as the yield of the mines was then very great, numbers were still joining their brethren. Scattered through the country in other directions, were also other numerous camps, all which had to depend, in the first instance, on the pastor of Sacramento for the reception of the sacraments.

The first pioneer missionary who settled down in the country north of the city of Sacramento, was the Rev. Father Shanahan, who, upon losing the entire use of his sight, was obliged to retire

from the field of his labors. Father Shanahan lived in the city of Nevada, and attended to the wants of ten mining localities. His life may be best imagined from the fact that he had no regular church, and had to be constantly on foot moving among his people, and performing the offices of religion in the rude huts of the miners. It is to him that Grass Valley is indebted for its first ecclesiastical structure—a little wooden shanty, completed by his successor, the Very Rev. T. J. Dalton, the present vicar-general of the diocese. He was succeeded in Nevada by the Rev. Father Dyart, who continued in charge till February, 1855, when he was replaced by the Rev. Father Dalton.

Up to 1853, the only churches built in that section of the country were those of Sacramento, Marysville, Weaverville, Grass Valley and Nevada, all which were on the smallest and poorest scale; the one at Nevada being only a miner's cabin fitted up for the purposes of religion.

In 1853, Marysville, now the episcopal see of the diocese of Grass Valley, received her first pastor in the person of the Rev. F. P. Magonotte, subsequently vicar-general of the archdiocese of San Francisco. Father Magonotte, who was a Passionist, had previously served on the Australian missions, whence he came about the year 1849. He afterwards established a convent of his order in the city of Virginia, but in consequence of some disagreement or misunderstanding with the ordi-

nary, he retired from the diocese, and returned to Italy, his native country, where he died only recently. An able theologian, zealous, religious and active missionary, he rendered invaluable service to the cause of religion during his time in the country. To him one of the principal churches in the city of San Francisco—St. Francis, and the cathedral church of Marysville, are indebted for their erection; not, however, without a very considerable debt being left to be paid.

In 1854, Father Quin, subsequently first pastor of Oakland, succeeded Father Ingoldsby in the charge of Sacramento. The great and overwhelming duty devolving on these pioneer missionaries can with difficulty be imagined. A mere outline is, indeed, all we can affect to convey to the mind of the reader.

The Rev. Father Dalton, who, as has been remarked, succeeded the Rev. Father Dyart in the pastorship of Nevada in 1854, had under his charge the whole of the counties of Nevada, Sierra, Plumas and a part of Placer, an extent of territory as large as an entire province in Ireland. The Catholics under his charge being probably between five and seven thousand, and very much scattered, half his time had to be spent in the saddle. The country in that part of the State being very much broken, and consisting of a succession of undulating hills with an occasional elevation, assuming the pretensions of a tolerably respectable mountain,

all richly clothed with a great variety of indigenous timber, the pine generally predominating, the missionary's life was romantic and toilsome in the extreme. Oftentimes, at the urgent call of death, he might be seen sweeping down the sides of those rugged hills, or dashing heedlessly through the wild ravine, urging at its utmost pace the jaded steed, that the dying sinner's humble couch might be reached before the soul had gone before its Maker.

The Catholics in those days, who were chiefly Irish, with a small per centage of Germans and French, though carried away by the rage for gold, were yet ever delighted to see the priest, and never wanting in providing the best in their power for all his requirements. The entire week from Monday till Saturday, except when interrupted by sickness and attending the dying, was spent by the missionary in visiting the different camps, where his time was divided between the offering of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the hearing of confessions, baptizing and preaching. Though not very practical in approaching the tribunal of confession, for under the circumstances it could hardly be expected, the people were ever most punctual in attending at the most adorable sacrifice of the Mass, all other work, no matter how important, being abandoned for the time.

The heaviest and most onerous portion of the missionary's duty at this time were the calls to

attend on the dying, for although they were not very frequent, from the great distances they had oftentimes come and the very urgency of their nature, being most commonly the result of some accident in the mines, they were most trying to the health and constitution of the priest.

And what was still more difficult to be borne after being put to the greatest inconvenience, even to the danger of losing his life by riding one hundred or more miles in a mountainous country under a burning sun, his services were not always found to be needed. An instance or two will give the reader an idea of this. One Sunday evening at the period of which I speak, as the missionary, to whom reference has been made, was about to retire to rest after a laborious day's duty a sick-call was announced. As the summons had come from a great distance, and the roads being only partially known, he judged it better to wait till early dawn, lest by setting out in the dark he might lose his way and thereby be the occasion of only greater delay. Accordingly, at three o'clock in the morning he was in the saddle and on his way. For hours he rode over hill and dale as fast as the speed of a hardy mule could go. Towards noon, as the sun rose in all its power and force, the worthy man's strength began to fail. Nine hours continuous traveling on the same animal, the greater part in the burning heat of a tropical sun, had completely prostrated his powers, and yet

he was only half his journey. Thirty-five or forty miles yet remained to be traveled over ere he reached the place. To halt on the way, to grow faint-hearted or return, was not to be thought of. A soul had to be saved; he was called to attend on the dying, and happen what would, he was bound to go.

A couple of hours repose, a little refreshment, and he was again on the road, hastening with all his energy under the broiling Summer sun. Hour by hour he toiled unhesitatingly on, the true representative of the apostolic priest in the faithful discharge of his duty. The shades of evening were already falling thick and fast around him; seventy-five miles had been traveled from early dawn, and now the camp was visible; a little more and as he rode up to the dying man's door the night had just began. Wearied and exhausted, he threw himself from the saddle, hurried into the cabin and asked for the patient. The sufferer was, indeed, there, but he needed not the services of the priest. As far as he was concerned, the clergyman's toilsome journey had been undertaken in vain. An excess of intoxicating drink, from which he shortly recovered, had been his only disease!

On a certain Friday, in Lent, about the same period, when the snow lay thick all over the country, the same missionary priest was called upon to attend a dying person, at a distance of some forty or fifty miles. In the northern part of

Upper California the winter is oftentimes extremely severe. For weeks the snow lies several feet on the ground, and in those early days, traveling, except on the public highways, was attended with the greatest danger of losing one's way. Regardless, however, of every danger, the Catholic priest never fails, when summoned to hasten to the couch of the dying sinner. By two o'clock in the afternoon, the clergyman had ridden thirty miles through the snow-bound region. Only ten or fifteen miles more lay between him and the end of his journey, and yet those ten miles were enough to try the courage and test the zeal of the most devoted priest of God.

From Eureka, the town where he then found himself, no road or path led to the camp whither he was proceeding, while at the same time a vast sheet of snow lay deep on the ground, in places twenty; and in places thirty feet. To proceed forward alone, was, therefore, only to expose one's self to the most imminent danger; nor, indeed, did he imagine that there would be any difficulty in obtaining a guide, for rarely does it happen that the Catholic priest is refused an attendant when visiting the dying. In vain, however, did he appeal to those present; all were unexceptionably silent. No one was willing to accompany him on the way; the danger was too great—no road, no house, no indication whatever to be encountered of the actual position of the camp; nothing, in a

word, save its general bearings, while, on the other hand, on the approach of night, they were sure to be further embarrassed in passing over the untrodden snow. The danger, on the other hand, of a soul being lost forever, caused the missionary to press his request; when an old, true-hearted Irishman, Edward Mooney, touched by the pious appeal, generously came forward and offered to accompany him at every hazard. They had first to cross a great ravine, some thousand feet in depth, and then rendered all but impassable by reason of the great masses of frozen snow, which covered its sides. The descent was readily accomplished; a few minutes and they found themselves at the bottom of the gorge, and then began their labor. A few hundred feet of ascent is not, under ordinary circumstances, of much account; but, on that occasion, it was a work of great peril and much toil. The snow, which had melted during the earlier part of the day, had, by the time they arrived, formed into a species of ice, and so rendered their progress both dangerous and difficult. Here was no well-trodden winding path, no trail of man or beast on which to tread; no tree or shrub to cling to in a moment of peril; naught, in a word, but a rugged, precipitous mass of frozen snow each step up which, was attended with continual danger, as being liable at any moment to yield under the pressure of the party, and precipitate them into the gorge beneath. But, con-

finding in the goodness and providence of God, in whose holy cause they were engaged, they began the ascent.

For two weary hours they clambered slowly but steadily up that snowy steep, resting betimes to recruit their exhausted strength, or clinging with desperate energy to the icy mass, as some peculiarly difficult point had been reached. Already the shades of evening had gathered thick around them, the sun had long gone down beyond the western hills, and the stars and moon were casting their feeble and unsteady light down the frozen descent, as with throbbing hearts and grateful minds, the missionary and his companion planted their feet on the summit of the ravine. It was now eight o'clock, and the entire journey, with the exception of that one difficult pass, yet lay before them. The only security the priest had, was in the judgment of his guide, who was acquainted with the position of the camp; but, under the circumstances, this was a poor and feeble reliance.

For two hours or more, they hastened cheerfully and confidently on, encouraged with the hope that before long they would be at the end of their journey. But, as no indication of the camp was anywhere to be seen, the idea occurred to them that probably they had lost their way. The thought, which at first only gave rise to suspicion, became after some further examination only a too

painful reality. They had, indeed, mistaken the way, and they knew not whither to turn. As an additional evil, the exhausted condition of the priest urgently demanded a little repose. The thirty miles ride in the forenoon, and the weary, toilsome journey from then till midnight, through the snowy plain, had so completely undermined his strength, that at any cost, if left to himself, he would have dropped on the snow and sought repose in sleep. Nor was this the entire extent of the danger; cold was about to accomplish what sleep would have done, if permitted. A strange unaccountable sensation stole over his members; he could not, though he willed it, move on; his feet refused to perform their functions. Mooney immediately understood the situation. He was frost-bitten; the blood had refused to flow through his limbs. One thing alone could now save him from death—the frost-bitten members must be rubbed till circulation again sets in. An ignorance of this simple and efficacious remedy, and his life was gone. With an energy and anxiety bordering on despair, the faithful guide applies himself to the task. A life is to be saved, and the missionary must not die if it depend on him, as indeed it does. For a time the frozen limbs resist his efforts, sensation, there is none. A few minutes more, however, and hope is revived; the blood is once more in motion; the friction has caused the change; and

then ensues the most intense and excruciating agony. Again and again would the sufferer beg his companion to desist and leave him to die, a request in which, it is needless to say, he could not be gratified.

It was now fast approaching the hour of midnight, and their only chance of saving their lives lay in moving slowly about until the return of day, and thus preventing a repetition of the danger. For three hours, or more, they accordingly moved slowly and feebly on, not knowing, nor indeed caring, whither they proceeded, their only object being to keep the blood in motion, if mayhap they could succeed therein. Towards four in the morning, the missionary's strength entirely failed; he could not even at the peril of death move any farther. A quarter of an hour's repose on the snow, and he would make a further attempt. It might be that that time would result in his death, but under the circumstances, nought else was to be done. The quarter passed, the difficulty then was to rouse him to consciousness; he had become frozen again; the intensity of the cold had once more paralyzed all his members. Three quarters of an hour's exertions, and he was again on his feet, but this time not with any strength to proceed any further. The weakness of his companion was also but too visible; and so prostrated and enfeebled in body and mind, they moved, or rather crawled, feebly forward to the top of a little

eminence, and there awaited in silence their apparently inevitable destiny.

As it was now no longer any use to dissemble the fearfully perilous position in which they were placed, the missionary exhorted his companion to all confidence in God. If it were the will of the Almighty that they should perish, they should accept the decree with calmness and Christian tranquility. They could not part with their lives in a better or nobler cause, for they were doing the work of their heavenly Master, and doubtless their reward would be sure.

A more Christian and edifying spectacle is not often to be met with in missionary life—a faithful, devoted priest, the true personification of him spoken of by the Lord as ready to forfeit his life in behalf of his flock, perishing of cold and exhaustion, after the most heroic endeavors to carry the consolation of religion to one of his people. But their situation, though critical in the extreme, and apparently hopeless, was not unnoticed by God.

As the early dawn began to break over the snowy waste, a column of lazy smoke rising in the distance, brought hope once more to their minds, as it indicated the nearness and position of the camp, one mile from where they then were. But the problem was how to travel that mile, for, as regarded the priest, he was not only unable to move, but could not even rise to his feet, while

as respected the guide, it was very much to be feared that his fast-failing strength would be unable to accomplish the distance. An attempt, however, had to be made, and so trusting in the providence of God and the sacredness of his mission, Mooney started for the camp. Already he had advanced a considerable distance, sustained by the consciousness that so much was depending on his individual exertions, but though aware of the desperate nature of the case, his utterly exhausted condition was unable to carry him through, and then as he tottered and fell on the snow, the last ray of hope seemed to have vanished from both. Not so, however, for they were in the hands of a merciful Providence; they were on God's work and He would not abandon them. A body of miners, happening to pass that way while proceeding to their work, accidentally came on the priest. Happily he had not yet lost the use of his senses, and was able to inform them of the attempt made by his companion. Both were accordingly conveyed to the camp, where, by proper care and attention, their lives were saved, but the person to whom they were carrying the comforts of religion was dead. Such is a sample of the trials and hardships of the pioneer Catholic missionaries of Upper California in behalf of the immigrants.

While the missions of Marysville, Weaverville, and Grass Valley, alluded to in the preceeding chapter, were coming into existence, those to the

east in Placer, Eldorado, Amador, Calaveras and Tuolumne counties, were also being formed. During the great rush in 1849-50 and '51, gold having been found in considerable quantity in those several parts, the formation of large and important stations was the natural result. These, like the missions to the west, were dependent at first for all spiritual aid on the priest of Sacramento, whose services at best could only be secured on very special occasions. The presence of a clergyman then in the country, was as rare as the visit of the ordinary at present. For months numbers of Catholics never had the consolation of a visit from the pastor. As time, however, rolled on, a better and more satisfactory arrangement was made.

In 1852, Rev. Father Ingoldsby was appointed to the charge of that part of the country. Placerville being an important and central camp, the Rev. Missionary made it his residence. Thence he attended the other stations within a radius of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles. The attention he was enabled to bestow on those committed to his charge, it is clear, must have been slight. He was succeeded by the mild and amiable Father Quin, whose memory is still held in benediction by those who had the pleasure of knowing him.

The extent of the archdiocese having become such as has been described, its efficient supervision was now found to involve too heavy a burden

for his grace, the archbishop. It was accordingly contemplated to make a division by forming the north-western portion into a separate charge, with Marysville as the episcopal residence. The number of missions then actually formed in that part of the country, it is true, were not very numerous, but as the district had already assumed a permanent character as regarded the mines and the agricultural products, it was judged, and not without reason, that no risk would be run in creating it into a separate diocese. The person appointed to this important post, was the Right Rev. E. O'Connell, formally professor in All-Hallows College Ireland. Dr. O'Connell was consecrated in Dublin, on the third of February, 1861, under the title of Bishop of Flaviopolis, *in partibus infidelium*, and Vicar-Apostolic of Marysville. Seven years later, on the third March, 1868, the vicariate was raised to the dignity of a diocese by a Bull of his Holiness Pope Pius IX. At the same time, the north-eastern portion was detached and placed under the care of the Right Rev. Dr. Machebœuf, Vicar-Apostolic of Colorado and Utah; but even yet the limits of the diocese are very extensive, extending from the thirty-ninth to the forty-second degree of latitude, and from the Pacific on the west to the limits of the State of Nevada on the east.

On assuming charge of the vicariate, Dr. O'Connell found only four priests on the mission. From the beginning it was his most earnest desire to in-

crease the number of missionaries, and to introduce into the vicariate religious communities, whose special vocations would be the care of the needy, and the instruction and training of youth. To this end he immediately applied himself in providing for the wants of his people, and the result was as satisfactory as his most earnest and fervent desires could have led him to anticipate; for, within a very limited time, the number of priests and churches were doubled, and what was still more important, continued increasing, until now, only ten years from the date of his consecration, Bishop O'Connell finds himself at the head of about thirty as devoted and exemplary missionaries as are to be found on the American Continent.

The establishment of religious institutions for the education of the Catholic youth and the care of the orphan, kept pace with the increase of the secular clergy. Of four religious institutions established in the country, three have been founded during the Bishop's administration. The missions and religious institutions north of the Sierra Nevadas, have, for the most part, been called into existence within the same time. In 1859, silver was discovered for the first time in that section of the country. Messrs. Gould and Curry, after whom the famous mine of that name is called, were the fortunate discoverers. The richness of the deposits, as well as their very general character, increased, no doubt' by the exaggerated reports

common to such discoveries, threw the country into a feverish excitement, reproducing, in some measure, the scenes of '48 and '49, when business was everywhere suspended, and men hastened from all parts to the mines. Thousands, in consequence, rushed to the favored locality; the entire country in that direction being then known by the generic appellation of Washoe, a name derived from the Indians who inhabited there.

Within a few months after the important discovery, the two considerable towns of Virginia and Gold Hill sprang into existence. The rapidity of the growth of American and especially Californian towns, is one of the most remarkable and striking peculiarities of this remarkable country. At first, the canvas tents, the wigwam, or shelter of the native pine is the miner's only home; but these after a little, give way to the wooden shanties, which in time are replaced by the commodious, well-formed frame or brick erections. Hence it has not unfrequently happened that within the space of a single year, districts have been formed and towns established, with all the busy hum and bustle of active life, where, to that date, only the Indian and his prey were known to exist. Then the entirely capricious and undesirable position of these towns is not the least remarkable feature thereof. Perched on the top of a bleak, barren mountain, several thousand feet above the level of the sea, exposed to the cold, stormy blasts of winter, and the excessive heat of

summer, or, as more frequently happens, enclosed in some mountain gorge or ravine, whence all that is fair and lovely in nature is completely shut out from the view, they present to the European an appearance as singular as unsightly.

Amongst the first missionaries sent to that section of the country, to minister to the Catholics, was the Very Rev. Father Manogne, whose zeal in the cause of religion has showed itself in the establishment of a convent for the Sisters of Charity, and the erection of a magnificent church, by far the finest in the diocese, at a cost of about sixty thousand dollars.

While the missions in the northern part of the diocese were being established and advanced, those on the Californian side of the Sierra Nevadas were by no means forgotten. For a considerable time, the necessity of an orphan asylum, to offer a refuge to the poor and fatherless children of the country, was seriously and extensively felt. The loss to religion, in the absence of such an establishment, was but too painfully obvious to all, but as the resources of the diocese were then of the slenderest kind, and entirely inadequate to meet the demand of such an establishment, its advantages had for a time to be foregone. Eventually, however, the time had arrived, when the foundation of the institute could be no longer delayed, unless the best interests of religion were permitted to suffer. An appeal was accordingly made to the

faithful, the immediate and hearty response to which was the sum of twelve thousand dollars, collected within a few months, by the Very Rev. Father Dalton. To this amount, three thousand dollars more, free of interest, was loaned by a benevolent Catholic, for a limited period, and then was begun the long-desired asylum, the pride and glory of the diocese of Grass Valley. The building, whose original cost amounted to twenty thousand dollars, was placed under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy, and opened for the reception of orphans on the first of April, 1866. On the following day, a family of four destitute children were received within its hospitable walls. These were speedily followed by others, till within a very short time the numbers were so considerably increased that difficulty was experienced in providing for the requirements of all; yet, trusting in the goodness and providence of God, the doors of the institute have never been closed in the face of an orphan. The best and most satisfactory proof of its advantages and practical utility to the community, is the fact that during the short period of its existence, no less than two hundred destitute children have found a home therein, and been provided for by the Sisters.

In 1869, the diocese of Grass Valley was further blessed by the establishment of another religious community, but of a different character. Four years previous, a missionary priest of the congre-

gation of the Precious Blood, landed on the Pacific coast, with the view of giving missions through the country. The great numbers that flocked to his services, and the still greater numbers, to whom, for want of sufficient co-laborers, his ministrations could not be made available, gave birth to the idea of establishing a house of the Society in the country. But as the Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits and Vincentians were already established in the lower part of the country, in the archdiocese of San Francisco and the diocese of Monterey, an application was made to Dr. O'Connell, who readily accepted the offer, and assigned for the purpose the mission of Eureka, in Humboldt county. Thither, accordingly, the little community, to the number of nine, three priests, four students and two lay-brothers, repaired, on the fifteenth August, 1869. Thus was established in the diocese of Grass Valley the fourth of those religious institutions, whose holy and beneficent influence has been already extensively felt.

Upon the erection of San Francisco into an archdiocese, in 1853, the reader will remember that the Right Rev. Dr. Amat became Bishop of Monterey, the first episcopal see established in California. Dr. Amat, who was a member of the congregation of missions, was consecrated on the twelfth of March, 1854, and from then till the present, the progress of religion in his diocese has been all that the most reasonable mind could de-

mand. The Catholic population, which, at that date, did not probably exceed eight or ten thousand, has since increased to thirty thousand and upwards. Ten religious institutions, six for females, three for males, and an hospital, have meantime sprung up, and bear evidence to the zeal of the Bishop, and the devotion and liberality of the Catholics. To that part of the country, too, belongs the honor of preserving the only remnant of the old Christian congregations that yet exists. It is, indeed, true, that the same rapid increase in numbers did not take place in that section of the country as in the archdioceses, and that from the fact that the discovery of gold was confined to the latter, whither, in consequence, great bodies of immigrants were attracted. But the same cause that at first tended to increase the population of the archdioceses, operated at the same time indirectly in favor of Monterey. For, when the great interest attached to the mines began to decline, and men preferred to turn their attention to commerce and agriculture, considerable numbers settled down in the lower part of the country, in consequence of the great fertility of the land, and the advantages of climate. Thus that part of the coast has been slowly but steadily advancing, and it is now a matter of certainty that before long the see of Monterey will rank among the most important of the suffragan charges of the American Church.

The reader's attention is now solicited to the progress of religion in the city of San Francisco and its immediate surroundings. The oldest church in the city, it is hardly necessary to say, is that of Mission Dolores, established by the missionary Fathers in 1776. Under the new regime the first sacred edifice erected within the limits of the city, was, as has been stated in a previous chapter, a little wooden shanty constructed in 1849 on the present site of St. Francis' Church. The building, though small, was at first made to serve the triple object of school, church and dwelling. A curtain drawn across the lower room separated the church from the school, while the second story, not sufficiently high to permit standing erect, served as a dormitory for the clergy.

The third oldest Catholic Church in the city was St. Patrick's, opened for the first time for public worship on the ninth of June, 1851. In the registry of that date we find the following entry: "Father Maginnis was then the only priest in the city of San Francisco who preached in the English language, and he divided his services between St. Francis' Church of Vallejo St., and the chapel then used here." The old St. Patrick's continued to be used till the present year, when the services were transferred to the present beautiful structure on Mission street, which, when completed, will be the finest place of Catholic worship in the city.

After the erection of the old St. Patrick's, the

Rev. Father Marashi, who had been for some time assistant pastor to Father Maginnis, purchased for ten thousand dollars the ground on which the present Jesuit Church and schools are built on Market street. There he erected a small temporary church, which was succeeded later on by the present magnificent structure, where from eight to ten thousand persons assist at mass on Sundays. Thus far all the churches that have been erected were chiefly intended for the use of the English-speaking population. As, however, there was a considerable number of French, German and Italian inhabitants in the city, it was found necessary to provide special pastors and churches for their use. Hence, in 1857, his grace the archbishop purchased the present French church on Bush street, which had been originally a Baptist place of worship. For some time previous, the French congregation had a special service for themselves in the cathedral, as the Spaniards have at present in St. Francis. The first pastor of the French congregation in the city was the Rev. Father Blave, who arrived in the country in 1849, and had been for some years pastor of Stockton. He was succeeded at his death in 1861, by Father Molinier, who in turn was succeeded by the present incumbent, Father De Clerq. In a similar manner the Germans were provided with a pastor of their own country in the person of the Rev. Father Wolf. For several years Father Wolf labored for his coun-

trymen with all the zeal and devotion of an apostle, but his fast-failing health and onerous duties necessitating his retirement, the care of the congregation was entrusted to Rev. P. J. Kaizer, under whose active and persevering efforts a commodious temporary church has been erected for the people.

The very considerable increase of the city, particularly in the western quarter, during the decade ending with 1860, necessitated the further erection of ecclesiastical accommodation in that direction. Accordingly, in 1861, we find the Rev. H. P. Gallagher, engaged in the erection of St. Joseph's Church, on Mission street. At that time the congregation was so limited that a meagre structure, capable of accommodating a couple of hundred persons was deemed sufficient, but four years later, by 1865, the numbers had so increased that the present building had to be erected, at a cost of eleven thousand dollars; and even to this an addition had to be made at a cost of four thousand dollars more. On the 14th of February, 1864, one year prior to the erection of St. Joseph's, the church of St. Bridget, under the care of the Dominican Fathers, was opened for public worship, while three years later the parish of St. Peter was formed, having for its first pastor the Rev. Joseph Gallagher. During this period too, many of the suburban and country churches were also springing into existence, a detailed account of which

would demand too large a space. We turn rather to trace in a summary manner the efforts that have been made in the same time for the education of youth. Already we have seen how the Sisters of Charity, Mercy and Presentation Religious were introduced into the country, and succeeded in opening establishments for the education of those of their sex. The male portion of the youth was also at first under the control of Catholic teachers. Owing to the influence of the Catholic community in 1850 and 1851, and the difficulty of obtaining qualified teachers, the denominational system was introduced by the civil authorities, and retained for some time with most important advantages to our holy religion.

On the twenty-fifth September, 1851, an act was passed by the State Legislature, empowering the city authorities to establish a number of gratuitous educational establishments, known as the common schools, to be maintained by the taxation of the people. They were divided under the headings of the "City and Ward Schools," both which received their *pro rata* of the State educational fund. The latter, which were exclusively for the benefit of the Catholic community, were so called from the wards into which the city was divided, where the schools were established. The departments consisted in each of the wards of one grammar, one intermediate, and two primary schools. The boys were taught by male lay-teachers,

and the girls by members of the various female religious communities, all duly certificated and licensed to teach. In 1855, the total number of children thus being educated at the public expense was four thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight, of whom one thousand four hundred and twenty-one were Catholic. The annual amount received by the Catholics for their respective departments amounted to close on forty thousand dollars. Prior to this, some private individuals had opened educational establishments; but the first purely Catholic school was that established by Father Langlois, under the circumstances to which we have already alluded. To this another, on a larger scale, was erected in 1850, by Father Flavien, at Mission Dolores; but the success of the establishment not answering the expectations of the founder, after three years trial he abandoned the work and retired from the country, heavily involved in debt. The school and property then passed into the hands of the Jesuits, who, on seeing that the project was not likely to be a success, broke up the classes and concentrated their force at Santa Clara College, which has since become one of the first educational establishments of the country.

The denominational grant, which the Catholics enjoyed for four years, was withdrawn in 1855. The reasons assigned by the authorities for this change was the inconvenience in a republican community of sectarian establishments, as well as

the inferiority of the provision made by the Catholics for those under their charge. That the former rather than the latter was the motive determining the commissioners, there cannot be a reasonable doubt; for, in case they were dissatisfied with the provision made for the Catholic children, a remonstrance on this head would have been all that was needed. It is, however, to be regretted that a better arrangement, both as regarded the accommodations and the character of the instruction imparted, had not been provided by the Catholic authorities, for thus would have been removed one of the reasons assigned for the withdrawal of the grant.

The Catholics, being now thrown on their own resources, were obliged either to suffer their children to resort to the State institutions, or by joining in common, to erect establishments of their own. The latter, as far as the city was concerned, was a difficult and arduous work ; for, in order to erect even the necessary buildings, at least eighty or a hundred thousand dollars were necessary; while, on the other hand, to make no effort to that end, was to betray an indifference unworthy of Catholics in the noblest of causes. It is true, as far as the female portion of the community was concerned, a tolerable provision had been made by the various religious communities ; but for the boys little or nothing had been done, so that the great majority betook themselves to the govern-

ment establishments. To counteract the evil effects of this, the Archbishop immediately took measures for the introduction into the archdiocese of a community of Christian brothers, whose special vocation is the education of youth. At first, his application could not be complied with, owing to the overwhelming demands made on their numbers ; but, without relinquishing the hope, something meantime had to be done in the interest of education. Accordingly, an establishment, capable of accommodating two hundred boys, was erected in the suburbs of the city. Hence the origin of St. Mary's College, San Francisco. The person most instrumental in the erection of this great Catholic work was the Very Rev. James Croke, the present Vicar-general of the archdiocese, by whose active exertions thirty-two thousand dollars were collected for the purpose.

In the absence of a religious community to take charge of its classes, it was at first placed in the hands of a body of secular clergy, aided by laymen. But, in consequence of the inadequate number of professors, and the lowness of the pension, the results were not all that had been anticipated. Eventually the brothers of the Christian schools assumed its direction, and since then it has been constantly increasing in public confidence, until at present to be educated in St. Mary's College is a sufficient guarantee of a boy's acquirements.

The reader has now before his mind as detailed and impartial an account of the action of the Catholic church on this coast, since Christianity was introduced into the country, as it was in our power to furnish. Before parting with the subject, it may not be amiss to recall, in a general way, all that has been said, and to mark in particular the progress of the church since the country has become an integral portion of the American republic. As regards the primitive period, by which is understood the Jesuit and Franciscan times, the design entertained by the Religious, and in great measure accomplished, appear more in the light of romance than of sober, historical truth. That a few zealous, self-sacrificing, devoted Religious should attempt and accomplish the conversion of a large number of rude, barbarous people is nothing to be astonished at—nothing that is not frequently to be met with in the annals of the past; but that a couple of indigent missionary priests should plan and successfully carry into effect the conversion and civilization of entire nations, scattered over hundreds of miles, is, indeed, an effort of missionary zeal and success rarely to be met with in the history of the church.

One hundred and eighty-eight years before the present, the whole of Upper and Lower California was inhabited by a wild, pagan people. During one hundred and fifty years prior, every effort was made by one of the most powerful nations of

Europe to reduce this people to subjection, but in vain. Expedition after expedition set out for the purpose, but returned only to announce their inability to accomplish their object. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were expended, and yet no impression was made on the country, not a garrison or colony founded, not a native brought into subjection, not a rood of the land secured to the Christians.

On the other hand, as soon as the Catholic Church, in the persons of her missionary priests, engaged in the work, success from the beginning everywhere attended her efforts. No fruitless, unsuccessful expeditions went forth, no fabulous sums were expended, no perils, privations or want stood in the way. Once landed on the Californian shore, the Catholic missionary was determined to conquer or die. He may, indeed, perish in the attempt, but he would not abandon the work. The cause was the greatest and noblest in which he could be engaged; it was the moral and physical regeneration of a people. For success he looked alone to the Lord, nor was he deceived. Eighty-six years later and the whole of Lower California was Christian, and subject to Spain. Everywhere at the invitation of the missionary the inhabitants abandoned their savage existence, accepted the doctrines of the Christian religion and the principles of civilized life. Villages sprang up where formerly a house had never been seen;

cultivated plains took the place of wild, neglected tracts; the implements of war were exchanged for those of husbandry and art, and, in a word, spiritual and temporal prosperity marked the course of the missionary whithersoever he directed his steps.

The same, in an equal degree, as we have seen, was the result of the missionaries' exertions in Upper California. Everywhere throughout the entire land, as in Lower California, the savage inhabitants lent a respectful and willing attention to the teaching of the Fathers. Twenty-two missions established along the coast, from San Diego to San Francisco, were evidence of how devotedly and successfully they labored in behalf of the people.

The reward received by these champions of the cross and of humanity is known to the reader. For no other reason than the ungrounded suspicion of a credulous monarch, the first missionaries were ignominiously driven from a country they had so laboriously gained to God and the crown—a country where they had loaded the people with such innumerable blessings, both spiritual and temporal, while their successors, if not treated entirely so ill, were necessitated, withal, to drink deep of the cup of affliction, by seeing the pillage of the Church and the dispersion of their converts.

But, if it be an unpleasant and depressing

recollection to recall to mind the ruin of the native Californian Church by the Spanish and Mexican governments, it is also equally pleasing to remember the progress made by religion in the modern period, since the commencement of American rule. Of the entire American Church, there is not probably any other portion, if we except the diocese of Chicago, where our holy religion has attained such a position within the last generation.

Twenty-one years prior to this, when his grace, the archbishop, arrived on these shores, the Catholic population of the country hardly amounted to one tenth the present numbers. The number then belonging to the Church was probably between fifteen and twenty thousand, whereas now for the three dioceses the official returns show a Catholic population of one hundred and sixty thousand. At that period, too, the entire number of churches could not be more than twenty-five or thirty; at present, independent of conventual and collegiate establishments, there are one hundred and sixty-five. The same proportionate increase is observable in the ranks of the secular and regular clergy. In 1850, Dr. Alemany found himself at the head of ten or fifteen priests; to-day, within the limits of the archdiocese, the entire number subject to his grace amounts to over one hundred, while in the two suffragan dioceses there are sixty or more. Equally, if not more remarkable still, has been the growth of the religious establishments. Twenty

years ago, the date of which we speak, not a single female community was in the country; now there are twenty. Within the same period seven religious communities for males have been established. The actual progress then made by the Catholic Church in California within the last twenty years, may be represented thus :

	In 1850.	In 1871.
Catholic population.....	15,000	160,000
Bishoprics	1	3
Priests	15	170
Churches	24	165
Convents and Academies	0	13
Colleges....	1	5
Hospitals.....	0	4
Orphanages.....	0	7

Well, indeed, may the Catholics and the clergy of the country rejoice at this happy result; but yet all is not done; one great work still remains to be achieved. That is the education, under purely Catholic auspices, of all the Catholic children of the community. It is, indeed, true that a tolerable provision has been made for the females and the better classes of boys, whose parents can afford to send them to collegiate establishments; but it is also equally true that the great masses of the poor are being educated in the government schools, where unhappily they learn neither religion nor morality—those two great requisites for man and society. Unless, then, thousands are to be lost to religion, Catholic schools have to be established, where the poor will receive a good

and gratuitous education. It is agreeable to think that an effort is now being made in this direction. Already a project has been started for the establishment, in the city of San Francisco, of a central educational establishment, to be conducted by the Christian brothers, where one thousand or fifteen hundred boys will receive a free education. With that as a beginning, we may hopefully look forward to the future, and when that day has arrived that all the Catholic youth of the country will be under purely Catholic influence—instructed as well in religion and morality as in secular learning, then, indeed, he who presides over this flock may say with the just and devout Simeon: “Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace; Quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.”¹

(1) *St. Luc*, chap. 2, v. 29-30.

APPENDIX.

PART I.

EXTENSIVE AMERICAN RUINS. — CIRCULAR FORT ON THE GENESEE. — REMAINS ON THE TONAWANDA. — CONICAL MOUNDS ON THE OCMULGEE. — REMARKABLE WORKS AT MARIETTA. — RUINS AT CIRCLEVILLE. — RUINS ON THE MIAMI. — RUINS NEAR CHILICOTHE. — TUMULI IN KENTUCKY AND ILLINOIS. — ARTICLES FOUND IN THE TUMULI. — SYMBOLIC WRITING.

In the opening chapter I signified my intention to inquire into the origin of the ancient monumental and other remains of this country. From the result of recent investigations, there is no longer any doubt that America had been formerly inhabited by a numerous, powerful, civilized people.¹ The numerous ruins of ancient cities, temples, fortifications, pyramidal constructions, causeways and such like, recently brought to notice, are irrefragible evidence hereof. Throughout all the States of the Union, with the exception of those on the western border, these evidences of the numbers, greatness and civilization of a once powerful people, are everywhere to be seen. The same is also to be observed, and even with greater devel-

(1) "The ancient remains in the United States bear evident marks of being the productions of a people elevated far above the savage state." *Bradford's Researches into the Origin and History of the Red Race*; p. 21.

opment in Mexico, Central and Southern America. Before offering any opinion hereon, it is proper to make the reader acquainted with the character, number and extent of these works.

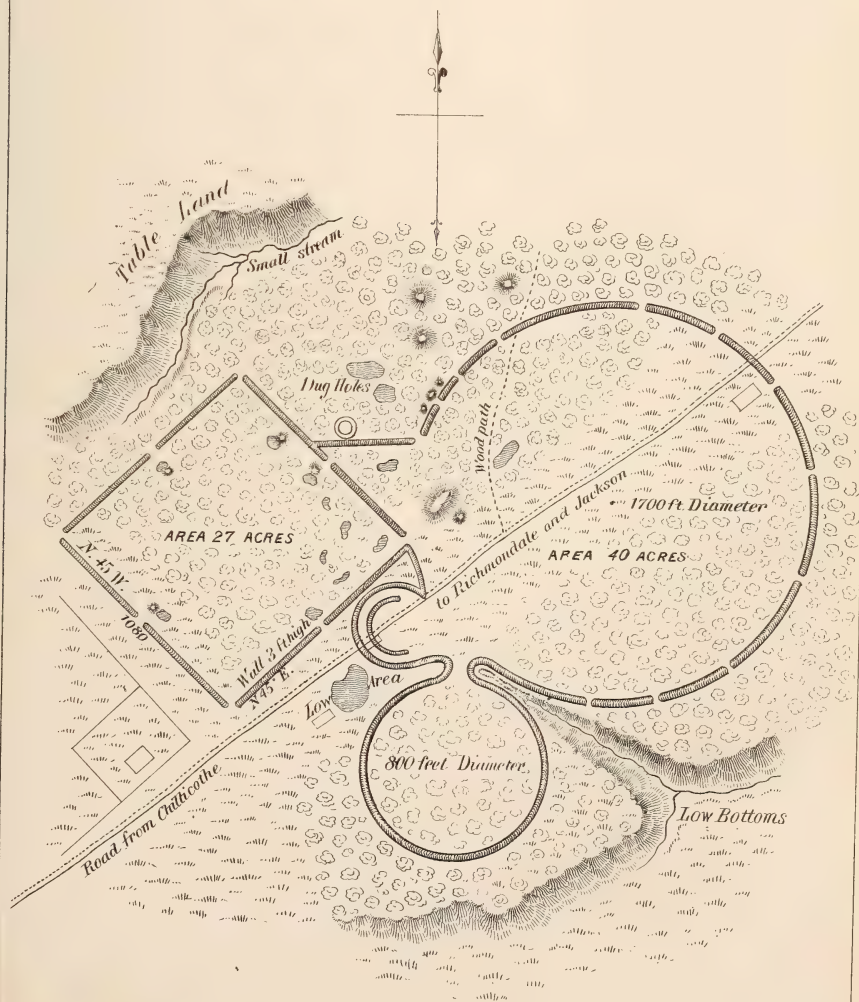
The first, and probably the most ancient, American ruin that invites our attention is to be met with on the Atlantic coast in the neighborhood of Providence. It is a circular earthen enclosure, on the Genesee, in the State of New York, comprising an area of six acres or more. It was partly surrounded by a ditch, while on one quarter a precipitate bank formed its defence. The enclosure was connected with the river by a causeway—a circumstance of usual occurrence in connection with works of the kind, as we shall afterward see.

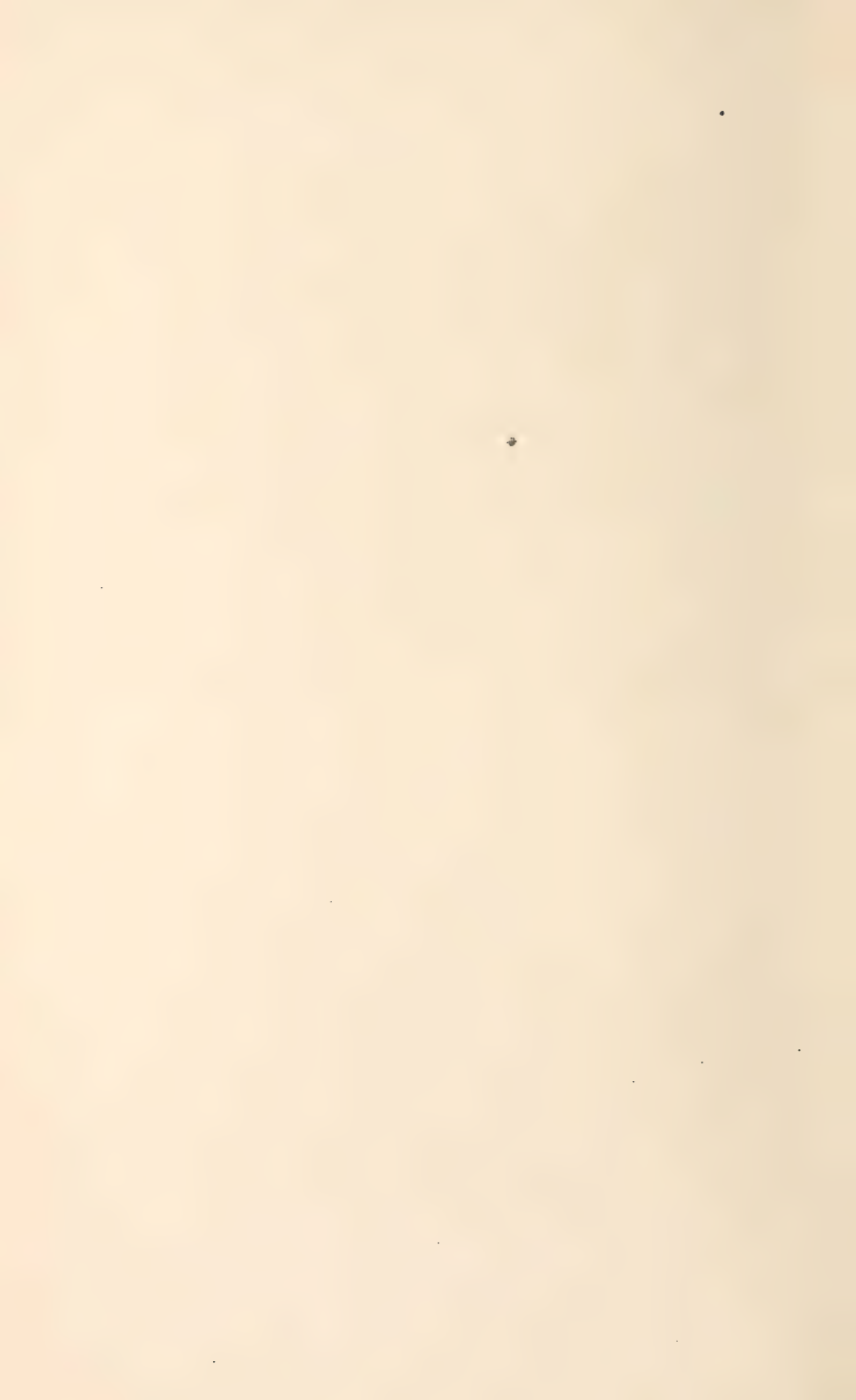
On the Tonawanda, at an interval of a couple of miles, are the remains of two other enclosures, the one forming an area of *four* and the other of *eight* acres. The intermediate tract between the forts has been regarded as the site of an ancient city, from the signification of the name, which, in the Indian vocabulary, signifies the double fortified town. Much more important, both in extent and general outline, are the remains at Pompey, in Onandaga County, where a fortified town of *five hundred acres* is shown to have existed.¹ This large, populous town was defended by three circular forts, triangularly situated, and at equal distances. In keeping with this, if not even greater, are the

(1) Vide *Clinton's Memoir*.

ANCIENT WORK, LIBERTY TOWNSHIP, ROSS COUNTY, OHIO.

(Eight miles S.E. from Chillicothe)





numerous, extensive ruins on the south bank of the Licking, near Newark.¹ These works comprised an octagonal and circular fort, connected by parallel walls, a circular and square fort similarly connected, an enclosure containing one hundred and fifty acres, together with numerous small works of defence, underground passages, and an observatory thirty feet high. The area comprised by the whole was between three and four hundred acres. At Camillus, and on the Seneca river, like evidences of this ancient peoples' presence are to be seen. In short, all through the State of New York, from Massachusetts to Niagara, and from Delaware to the St. Lawrence, no less than *one hundred* of these ancient remains have been found.

In Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and all along the eastern coast, like traces of this once powerful, numerous, military race have been discovered. "Near Wheeling," writes Mr. Bradford, "there are appearances of fortifications or enclosures, commencing in the vicinity of the mounds upon Grave Creek, and continuing at intermediate distances, for *ten or twelve miles* along the banks of the Ohio. They consist of square and circular entrenchments, communicating with each other; of ditches, walls and mounds, and a broad causeway, leading from the largest enclosure towards the neighboring hills."

(1) *Archeologia Americana*, p. 137.

The banks of the Little River, the Ocmulgee, the Altamaha and the Savannah, present similar imposing monuments of the power, industry and skill of those ancient inhabitants. They comprise enormous conical pyramids, vast tetragon terraces, excavated areas, squares and embankments. The most notable and best deserving attention is a truncated conical mound, fifty feet high, and eight hundred in circumference at the base. The summit was reached by a spiral stair, while four niches, at different intervals, and corresponding with the four cardinal points, would make it appear that it was intended for purposes of religion. Around in the immediate vicinity are other erections, but inferior in size, varying from six to ten feet in height, but with a quadrangular area of four hundred feet. Mounds and terraces are also to be seen on the Chattahooche, a continuation of which extends into Alabama, and further to the south.

Continuing along the southern coast, on entering Florida, we meet with the same expressive monuments of the past. On an island in Lake George, at the junction of Marion and Orange counties, are the ruins of a considerable town, and a pyramidal mound or tower, similar to the one referred to above. The town was connected by a double wall with a neighboring plain or savannah, thereby indicating the agricultural character of the people by whom it was inhabited.

Returning to the State of New York, and directing our course westward in the direction of the lakes, on arriving at Salem, Ashtabula County, Ohio, we first meet with an enclosure situated upon a hill, and fortified by two circular walls, with a ditch intervening. From the enclosure an underground passage led to the water. Here, as in the last-mentioned ruins, skeletons, earthenware and other remains were discovered. At Marietta, near Newark, the most remarkable works we have yet noticed were situated. They are pronounced by Mr. Caleb Atwater, of the American Antiquarian Society, as the most extraordinary ancient remains anywhere to be found in the country. They consist of walls, mounds, squares and circles. Two extensive oblong enclosures, enclosing the one forty and the other twenty acres, are amongst the most remarkable. A rampart of earth from six to ten feet in height, and thirty in breadth at the base, formed their defence, while on each side three openings resembling gateways served the purpose of ingress and egress. The whole are thus carefully described by Mr. Harris in his tour: "The situation of these works is an elevated plain, above the present bank of the Muskingum, on the east side, and about a half a mile from its junction with the Ohio. They consist of walls and mounds of earth, in direct lines and in square and circular form. "The largest squarefort, by some called the

town, contains forty acres, encompassed by a wall of earth from six to ten feet high, and from twenty-five to thirty-six feet in breadth at the base. On each side are three openings, at equal distances, resembling twelve gateways. The entrances at the middle are the largest, particularly on the side next to the Muskingum. From this outlet is a covered way, formed of two parallel walls of earth, two hundred and thirty-one feet distant from each other, measuring from the centre. The walls at the most elevated part on the inside are twenty-one feet in height, and forty-two in breadth at the base; but on the outside average only five feet in height. This forms a passage of about three hundred and sixty in length, leading by a gradual descent to the low ground, where, at the time of its construction, it probably reached the river. Its walls commence at sixty feet from the rampart of the fort, and increase in elevation as the way descends towards the river; and the bottom is crowned in the centre, in the manner of a well-formed turnpike road.

“Within the walls of the fort, at the northwest corner, is an oblong elevated square, one hundred and eighty-eight feet long, one hundred and thirty-two feet broad, and nine feet high, level on the summit, and nearly perpendicular at the sides. At the centre of each of the sides the earth is projected, forming a gradual ascent to the top, equally regular, and about six feet in width. Near

the south wall is another elevated square, one hundred and fifty feet by one hundred and twenty, and eight feet high, similar to the other, excepting that next to the wall, there is a hollow way, ten feet wide by twenty high, leading toward the centre, and then rising with a gradual slope to the top. At the southeast corner is a third elevated square, one hundred and eight by fifty-four feet, with ascents at the ends, but not so high nor perfect as the two others. A little to the southwest of the centre of the fort is a circular mound, about thirty feet in diameter and five feet high, near which are four small excavation at equal distances, and opposite each other. At the southwest corner of the fort is a semicircular parapet, crowned with a mound, which guards the opening in the wall. Towards the southeast is a smaller fort, containing twenty acres, with a gateway in the centre of each side and at each corner. These gateways are defended by circular mounds.

“On the outside of the smaller fort is a mound in form of a sugar loaf, of a magnitude and height which strikes the beholder with *astonishment*. Its base is a regular circle one hundred and fifteen feet in diameter; its perpendicular altitude is thirty feet. It is surrounded by a ditch four feet deep and fifteen wide, and defended by a parapet four feet high, through which is a pathway towards the fort twenty feet in width. There are other

walls, mounds and excavations less conspicuous and entire."

From the number, character and dimensions of these works it is easy to form an idea of the power and ability of those by whom they were erected. It is not to be supposed that men in a primitive state, unacquainted with the arts and sciences, could have been the authors thereof. The vastness of the ruins, the skill displayed in their erection, and their peculiar adaptation for military purposes, as well as the evidence exhibited of the square and the circle, forbid this idea. "The best military judges," writes Mr. Bradford, "have observed the skill with which the sites of many of the fortifications have been selected, and the artful combination of natural advantages with artificial means of defence exhibited in their construction. The care taken in their erection must have been necessary for protection against a powerful external enemy, or from internal wars. The latter was, probably, partially the case, as, extrinsic of other reasons, it is hardly likely that at so early a period, and in a state of semi-civilized society, this *great people* were united under one sovereign, or were free from internal commotions and revolutions."¹ "The care which is everywhere visible about these ruins," writes one of the contributors to the 'Archeologia Americana,' "to protect every part from a foe without; the high plain on which they

(1) *American Antiquities*: Bradford, p. 70.

are situated, which is generally forty feet above the country, around it; the pains taken to get at the water, as well as to protect those who wished to obtain it; the fertile soil, which appears to me to have been cultivated, are circumstances not to be overlooked; they speak volumes in favor of the *sagacity of their authors*.”¹ And Mr. Harris, speaking of other ruins, to which we shall presently refer, says: “The engineers who directed the execution of the Miami work appear to have known the importance of flank defences, and if their bastions are not as perfect, as to form, as those which are in use in modern engineering, their position, as well as the long lines of curtains, are precisely as they should be.”² And Mr. Carver, another writer, bears similar testimony: “Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable and appeared as regular, and fashioned with *as much military skill* as if planned by Vauban himself.”³

Again at Circleville, near the junction of the Hargus with the Scioto, were two earthen enclosures, remarkable from the fact of the one being an exact circle, and the other a perfect square, whose sides faced the four cardinal points. The circular fort was surrounded by a double wall with a deep ditch, the square being only encompassed by a single rampart. In point of strength, as a means

(1) *Archeologia Americana*, p. 130.

(2) *Harrison's Discourse*.

(3) *Carver's Travels*, p. 45.

of defence, the works were imposing and remarkable for the age in which they were erected. To the square there were eight openings, but to the circle only one. They were defended by redoubts immediately in front, about four feet high, and erected on terraces forty feet at the base and twenty at the summit.

In Warren county, between two branches of the Little Miami, on an elevated zigzag plateau, two hundred and thirty-six feet above the level of the river, the ruins of a powerful fortification exists. The plateau, which seems to have been a double fortification, extends to the distance of half a mile, and was defended both by its precipitate banks and by a wall, varying in height according to the nature of the ground, from eight to ten feet. On the side where it loses its elevation the enclosure is defended by a wall nineteen and one half feet high on the inside, with a base of four and a half poles. About twenty poles north-east from the upper fortifications are two mounds, connected with a third about a quarter of a mile distant, by two parallel embankments, each one pole wide and three feet in elevation. These embankments, or roads, before reaching the mounds in the distance, made a detour and united. The walls of the fortifications are entirely of earth and have numerous openings, so many, indeed, that several of them have been regarded as the effect of time. On the side of the plateau facing the river to the south-

west are three terraces, about thirty poles in length, formed in the embankment, and which appear to have served as means for defending the river.

Near Chillicothe, in the same State, on both sides of the Paint creek, numerous extensive ruins also invite the attention of the antiquarian. They are quite of the same character as those already introduced to the notice of the reader. They comprise forts, mounds, square and circular, roads, wells and oblong elevated works. The accompanying plate will enable the reader to form an estimate of their nature and extent. The square and circular forts on the northeast side of the river comprised seventy-seven acres. The dimensions of the elliptical elevations, of which there were two, were for the larger, three hundred and thirty feet long, one hundred and seventy broad and twenty-five high. The other was not so large. Both were constructed of stone, and probably served the purpose of monuments in honor of the dead, as they were found to contain a large quantity of human remains. The walls of all these ancient works were of the cyclopiian character, and not such as mere migratory hordes would be likely to form.

The fortifications on the south side of the river contained in all one hundred and twenty-six acres; they were surrounded by a ditch and a wall composed of the common soil, from ten to twelve feet

in height. The most important of this group is a fortification situated to the northeast, on an elevated hill three hundred feet high, parts of which are extremely precipitous. A wall of unhewn stone was thrown up all along the brow of the hill except at one point where the inclination is slight. The entire area of the fortification was one hundred and thirty acres, and from its natural and artificial advantages, must have been one of the most formidable strongholds in the country. Not to weary the reader with further details of a similar nature, suffice it to say that in every State of the Union, except as has been observed on the western slope, like evidence of the presence of this ancient powerful and populace race are to be found. "The traces of them," writes Mr. Brackenbridge to the American Philosophical Society, "are *astonishingly numerous* in the western country." "I should not exaggerate," he continues, "if I were to say that *five thousand* might be found, some of them enclosing more than a hundred acres."

The monumental remains in the character of mounds and tumuli are even more numerous still. They are found in every part of the country."¹ As many as five hundred and more have been shown to exist in the State of Kentucky alone. In Il-

(1) "The tumuli, in what is called the Scioto County, are both numerous and interesting." *Arch. Amer.*, p. 176.

"These tumuli are very common on the Ohio, from its utmost sources to its mouth. Few and small, comparatively, they are found on the waters of the Monongahela; but increase in number and size as we descend towards the mouth of the stream at Pittsburgh." *Ibid.*

FORT ANCIENT,
East bank of the
LITTLE MIAMI RIVER,
 33 miles above Cincinnati.



linois, within a small circuit of a few miles, one hundred and fifty have been erected. They are of various magnitudes, shapes, and altitudes, varying in circumference from twenty to two thousand four hundred feet and upwards at the base. Some of them, in the shape of truncated pyramids, are constructed upon artificially formed terraces of two and more stages. The fact of their being found to contain human remains leaves very little doubt as to the purpose for which they were erected. Those on the Muskingum were formed of clay, with a foundation of brick, a circumstance from which the semi-civilized condition of the people may be inferred. In some of them pieces of silver, copper, oxide of iron, arrow-heads and mirrors of mica have been found. At Cincinnati a mound of this kind, eight feet high, sixty broad and six hundred and twenty long, was found, upon examination, to contain, besides human bones, pieces of jasper, crystal, coal, carved vases, beads, lead, copper, plates of mica, marine shells and the sculptured representation of a bird's head. An examination of the mound at Circleville resulted in the discovery of a large quantity of arrow and spear-heads; of the handle of some unknown instrument with a ferule of silver, a large mica mirror, a plate of oxidized iron and two skeletons surrounded with ashes, charcoal and brick. The presence of the ashes, charcoal and calcineal remains are an indication that the obsequies were performed by cremation.

In Ohio, near Lancaster, where one of the same was examined, it was found to contain an enormous earthen coffin, eighteen feet long, by six wide and two deep. It rested on a thick layer of ashes and charcoal, and manifested by its appearance its having been subjected to the action of a powerful fire. It contained twelve human skeletons of different sizes and ages, strings of beads, shells, and curiously-wrought stone, being attached to the necks of the smaller ones. Knives, axes, ivory beads, copper wristlets, mica plates, and other such like objects, were also brought to light on the same occasion.

From the above and other numerous instances which might be adduced, we are warranted in drawing a series of important deductions respecting the origin, numbers, antiquity, civilization and mode of existence of this remarkable people. The uniformity and predominant features of the constructions, leave little to doubt as to the unity of the race. It is not to be supposed that different peoples, varying alike in habits, customs and language, would adopt the same modes of defence, and employ like methods for expressing their reverence for the dead. On the other hand, the vastness and number of these ancient remains, as well as their character for strength, and as means of defence against the hostile attacks of an enemy, establish the fact of their authors being a numerous civilized race, not a mere migratory horde, but a

people settled down in the country, living in populous communities, and as such, necessarily governed by laws, and in the enjoyment of some popular form of government. "No portion of the globe," writes the author last quoted, "offers more decisive evidence of having been occupied *for many ages by civilized nations*, than the southern regions of North America. At the time of the discovery, the ancient remains of the United States were deserted, and the people by whom they had been erected were apparently extinct; so that the question of their origin was a subject of inquiry to the antiquary rather than to the historian. In the vast territory at the south (Mexico), however, another spectacle was presented; there the Spanish invaders found populous nations, regularly organized States, aristocratical, monarchical and republican forms of government, established systems of laws, *immense cities*, rivaling in the style, character and magnificence of their edifices and temples, those of the *Old World*; and roads, aqueducts and other public works, seldom excelled in massiveness, durability and grandeur. The inhabitants were clothed, the soil was tilled, many of the arts had been carried to a high degree of advancement, and their knowledge in some of the sciences equaled if not surpassed that of their conquerors."¹ On the authority of Mr. Brackenbridge, we learn that as many as five thousand vil-

(1) Vide *Caleb Atwater, Arch. Amer.*, p. 222.

lages have been discovered in the valley of the Mississippi alone, and Mr. Caleb Atwater was of opinion that the State of Ohio once possessed close upon a million of inhabitants. That gentleman's grounds for this assertion seem to have been the number and extent of the ruins, as well as the number and capacity of the monuments. "Many of the mounds," he writes, "contain an immense number of skeletons. Those of Big Grave Creek are believed to be *completely filled* with human bones. The larger ones, all along the principal river in this State, are also filled with skeletons. *Millions of human beings* have been buried in these tumuli." ¹

From the fact that the people lived in community, subject to rulers, and in the enjoyment of some popular form of government—for it would be unreasonable to suppose that works of such magnitude and number as we have referred to, could be erected without some governing power, capable of combining and controlling the labor of thousands—they must, as a necessary consequence, have made considerable progress in the knowledge of the arts and sciences, during those hundreds of years they inhabited the country. For as a community of interests is productive of law, and as law is the principle of order, and forms the boundary between the savage and civilized life, those in the enjoyment thereof are necessitated to advance

(1) Vide *Caleb Atwater, Arch. Amer.*, p. 223.

on the road of enlightenment, under the guidance and shadow of its encouraging influence. But apart entirely from conjectural reasoning, there is the most unequivocal evidence of the fact, in the monuments they have erected, and the works of art they have executed. Among the numerous objects disinterred from the tombs, some of which I have already alluded to, were gold and silver ornaments, bracelets, isinglass mirrors, oxidized iron, pieces of copper, medals, rock crystal, granite, stone axes and idols.¹

The isinglass, whose use it would seem, was applied to religious purposes, was discovered in several localities, the most remarkable being a large mica mirror about three feet long, a foot and a half broad, and one inch and a half thick, which was found on opening one of the principal mounds at Circleville. Over the glass was a plate of oxidized iron which somewhat resembled a plate of cast metal of the same material. From the same mound were brought to light a great quantity of arrow

(1) "Gold ornaments are said to have been found in several tumuli. Silver, *very well plated*, has been found in several mounds, besides those at Circleville and Marietta." *Arch. Amer.*, p. 223. "Copper has been found in more than twenty mounds, but generally not very well wrought. * * * Pipe-bowls of copper, hammered out, and not welded, but lapped over, have been found in many tumuli. * * * A bracelet of copper was found in a stone mound near Chillicothe. * * This was a rude ornament, and represented somewhat the link of a common log chain; the ends passed by each other, but were not welded together. I have seen several arrow heads of this metal, some of which were five or six inches in length, and must have been used as heads of spears. Circular medals of this metal, several inches in diameter, very thin and much injured by time, have often been found in the tumuli. They had no inscription that I could discover; some of them were large enough to have answered for breastplates," *Arch. Amer.*, p. 224.

heads and a small horn sword mounted with silver where the blade had been inserted. The instrument was forwarded to the Philadelphia museum.

In June of 1819, upon opening a mound at Marietta, some very remarkable objects were found; they consisted of three large circular copper bosses thickly overlaid with silver, and apparently intended as ornaments for a buckler or sword belt. On the reverse were two plates fastened by a copper rivet or nail, around which was a flaxen thread, while between the plates were two small pieces of leather. The copper showed much sign of decay, it was almost reduced to an oxide, but the silver, though much corroded, resumed its natural brilliancy on being burnished. In the same tumulus was also found a hollow silver plate, six inches long by two broad, and intended apparently as the upper part of a sword scabbard. The scabbard itself seems to have perished in the course of time, as no other portion of it was found with the exception of a few broken, rust-eaten pieces of a copper tube, which was likely intended for the reception of the point of the instrument. In addition to these there was also discovered in this same sepulchral ruin, a piece of copper of three ounce weight, a bit of ochre and a little lump of iron ore. The copper, which in shape resembled a builder's plumb, may have been used for architectural purposes. The iron ore was almost of the specific gravity of pure iron and presented the appearance of being partially smelted.

From these, and numerous other instances which might be adduced, it is evident that the people had advanced to a certain degree of civilization far removed from purely savage life.

The numerous sculptured remains recently brought to light are another evidence of this, and show that they carried the art of working in wood and stone to a considerable degree of perfection.¹

The remains of pottery found in many of the monuments are further evidence of the people's progress in art. Some of the vessels have been pronounced by competent authority to be equal to anything of the kind manufactured elsewhere in the world.² Some of the specimens discovered were found to have been formed on scientific principles, capable, in some instances, like our chemical vessels, of encountering a high degree of heat. They were formed of clay and pulverized sandstone or calcarious matter, artistically wrought, polished, glazed and burned. Of the former class

(1) "Beads of bone and shell, *carved bones and hewn and sculptured stones* are by no means rare. Their weapons and instruments were often formed from the oldest and hardest of rocks; and arrow-heads, axes and hatchets of granite, and horn-blade, *nicely cut and polished*, are of frequent occurrence. The covers of some of the urns are composed of calcarious breccia, *skillfully wrought*; the pieces of stone worn as ornaments, and found interred with the dead, have been drilled and worked into precise shapes, and the pipe-bowls with *beautifully carved reliefs*." *Bradford*, p. 25.

(2) "Two covers of vessels were found in a stone mound in Ross county, in this State, very *ingeniously wrought* by the artists and highly polished. These were made of calcarious breccia; fragments of which were examined by Professor Sullivan of Yale College, Connecticut. These covers resembled *almost exactly*, and were quite equal to, vessels of that material manufactured in Italy at the present time (1840)." *Arch. Amer.*, p. 227.

was one found further back than 1840, in the alluvial soil of the Ohio. It bore upon it the marks of fire and was proven to be capable of sustaining a great degree of heat. It was conjectured that it had been used as a crucible. Of the second kind was an urn found in Chillicothe, and said to be an *exact copy* of one discovered in Scotland.

If to this we add the important fact that they had a knowledge of the circle and the square, and that they invariably erected their religious edifices with openings towards the cardinal points, we cannot arrive at any other conclusion than that they were a tolerably enlightened and partially civilized race.

From recent investigations it also appears that this people were in possession, if not of a phonetic, at least a symbolic system of writing—a fact not even commonly known, nor even conjectured by authors. On a tabular mass of limestone, on the Mississippi, near St. Louis, were observed the appearance of the impression of two human feet, and immediately in front of them a scroll sculptured in an artistic manner. On the east bank of the Ohio, fifty miles south of Pittsburgh, on a large stratum of rocks, are numerous curious inscriptions, evidently dating from a very ancient period, and which have never been deciphered. The inscriptions, too, are a proof that the people must have been in possession of iron or hard metallic instruments, for otherwise they would not have been

able to form the characters on the rocks. In 1818 an inscription on hard stone, in twenty-two characters with a cross and a mask, was brought to light from a tumulus in Western Virginia. The most learned antiquarians who have examined the relic have been unable to agree upon its origin or signification. Four of the letters are said to resemble the Etruscan; four, the African; five, the ancient Runic; six, the Tonarik; seven, the old Irish; ten, the Phœnician; and fifteen, the Celtiberian. How far this may be in accordance with fact, we stop not here to inquire, but merely mention the circumstance as an evidence of the probable existence amongst that ancient people of a phonetic system of writing.

That they were possessed of a symbolic writing seems ever more certain still, from the representations of birds, beasts and other figures which they have left behind them. Upon one of the branches of the Tennessee river, as we learn from the transactions of the American Philosophical Society, there are numerous representations of beasts, birds and other objects. In Eastern Virginia, Bishop Madison speaks of having seen on a freestone rock several figures cut in relief; in one part was a tortoise, an eagle executed with much precision, a child and other figures. These were undoubtedly the first rude efforts of a people who afterwards attained to such eminence in more southern latitudes. They also offer a solution of the difficulty

respecting the authors of the hieroglyphical remains discovered in California, for, according to the traditions of the Mexicans, the progenitors of the Aztecs and others entered the country from the direction of California, thereby indirectly connecting that people with the ancient inhabitants of the States.

PART II.

GREAT ANTIQUITY OF THE RUINS.—PROOFS THEREOF.—OCCUPATION OF THE PEOPLE.—IDENTITY OF THE AUTHORS OF THE MOUNDS WITH THE MEXICAN RACES.—WHENCE THE MEXICAN RACES EMIGRATED.—THE OLMECS.—TOLMECS.—AZTECS.

IN the preceding chapter, we have laid before the reader some of the reasons assigned for maintaining that the people of whom we speak were a numerous and enlightened race, far removed from the savage state. From their numbers and civilization, we now pass to their origin, and the antiquity of the works they have left. The latter we shall treat in the first place.

The antiquity of the American remains may be conjectured, by considering the time that must have elapsed from the erection of the first to the last of these populous towns, as well as the periods of occupancy. Cities are not built and abandoned in an age. It is to be remembered that upon the first landing of the Europeans, in the fifteenth century, no clue, not the faintest tradition could even then be obtained to the solution of this most difficult problem. The natives, in every instance, were utterly unconscious of their origin, and disclaimed both for themselves and those of their race

all relation therewith. ¹ Further, the Mexican historians, who point to the northern part of the country as the permanent abode of their progenitors for centuries, fix as the period of their migration, the age immediately succeeding the advent of the Christian religion. Ages, then, probably elapsed from the time that the first of these ancient remains was erected till the last was completed.

Clavigero, in his *History of Mexico*, assigns several reasons for the antiquity of the American races. Of these, their ignorance of those arts and inventions which, on the one hand, being very ancient, are, on the other, so useful, not to say necessary, that being once discovered they are never forgotten. Of this class is the use of wax and oil for light, a knowledge of which was not possessed by the Americans. Secondly, because the civilized American races preserved in their traditions and symbolical writings, the memory of all the notable facts of the most ancient times, such as the creation of the world, the deluge, the tower of Babel, the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of the people; while, at the same time,

(1) "Les voyageurs Français et Anglais, qui visitèrent la côte des Etats-Unis et des Florides, ainsi que le pays des Natchez, sont d'accord pour reconnaître que les habitants de les contrees pretendaient être sans occuper ces territoires depuis que l'Amerique Centrale etait occupee par les blancs, c'est-à-dire depuis le sixieme siècle. Or les dernières emigrations ne savaient plus par qui avaient ete construit les monuments considerable et nombreuse, qui couvrent encore la vallée du Mississipi, et principalement la rive orientale du fleuve, et cependant ces monuments, sont *parent* de ceux de l'Yucatan et du Mexique." *Antiquities Americaines*, p. 21.

they had no recollection whatever of any subsequent events which happened in Europe, Asia and Africa, though many of them were very remarkable, and as such not easily to be forgotten. And here it is only proper to observe, that while the traditions and hieroglyphical records of the polished American races are a confirmation of the leading Biblical facts of ancient times, they are at the same time an answer to and refutation of the theories of Betancourt, Gemelli and others, that this country had been inhabited previous to the deluge and was not affected thereby.

But, independent entirely of conjectural reasoning, there is positive evidence of the most satisfactory kind in behalf of the antiquity of the American ruins. No monumental inscription or historic account, it is true, can be offered in support of the fact, but what is equally convincing and satisfactory to the inquirer—the unmistakable record of ages, written in the physical order of creation; springing from amid the ruins of many of these ancient remains of towns, temples, and strongholds are majestic trees, whose concentric circles, or annual layers of wood, prove them to be of extraordinary age; and not only that, but presenting even evidence of being a second, if not a third and a fourth growth. “Most of these monuments are covered with forests, and while many of the trees, from their vast size, and the number of their *annual layers* of wood, are appa-

rently of great age, the vestiges of decayed wood, and the absence of uniformity of character peculiar to a recent second growth, demonstrates that *several generations of trees* have sprung up and disappeared since these works were deserted."

"The sites of the ancient works on the Ohio," writes Mr. Harrison, "present precisely the same appearance as the circumjacent forest. You find on them all the beautiful variety of trees which give such unrivaled richness to our forests. This is particularly the case in the fifteen acres included within the walls of the works at the mouth of the Great Miami, and the relative proportions of the different kinds of timber are about the same. * * Of what immense age must be those works, so often referred to, covered as have been supposed, by those who have the best opportunity of examining them *with the second growth*, after the ancient forest state had been regained."

Another argument in favor of the great antiquity of the ruins, are the various physical changes which have manifestly occurred since their erection, and which could only be the result of natural causes protracted through centuries. Thus, in Florida, what were once manifestly lakes being approached by avenues from these works, are now dry land; nor is there any record or recollection among the natives when the change took place. In the west, in like manner, on the margin of de-

sented lakes and altered rivers, are to be found similar remains, while in the State of New York, we are assured that the line of mural remains is bounded by the ancient shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario. Whether, then, we regard these works as respects their numbers, character and extent, or base our deductions on the absence of all traditional knowledge thereof on the part of the red man, or suffer ourselves to be guided by the physical evidence of nature, the conclusion in every instance is the same, respecting their great and extraordinary antiquity.

As regards the occupation of the people, judging from the situation and locality of the remains, on the banks of rivers, in the interior of the country, and in extensive fertile valleys, the conclusion seems certain that they were an agricultural rather than a commercial race. In the west, their traces are to be found on the margins of all the great rivers, from the lakes to the Mexican gulf. Even upon the arrival of the Spaniards, some traces of the same mode of existence were to be seen.

The question, then, to be determined is, who was this ancient people who have left such evidence of their power, numbers and intelligence? Whence did they come and when? Were they of European or Asiatic origin, and at what period are we to fix the commencement of their history. These, it is to be observed, are questions which

for three hundred years and upwards have demanded a satisfactory answer, but failed to obtain it. The most minute and learned researches have failed to determine the question. Philosophy, archeology and history have alike declared their inability to unravel the mystery. Like so many sphynxes waiting for another Odipus to solve the problem of their origin, these numerous ancient remains of towns, cities and strongholds lie everywhere scattered through the land, the mute monuments of a once great powerful, but unknown race.

Reasoning on general principles and analogous instances of languages, customs and manners, several theories have been adopted and indulged in, which, in many, if not in most instances, but ill-accord with the nature of the case, and fail to give anything like a satisfactory solution of the problem. According to Lord Kingsborough, the compiler of the voluminous collection of hieroglyphical writings published at Dublin, the progenitors of the Mexican race, whose history he would connect with the works of which we are speaking, were an offshoot or branch of the once chosen people of God. After entering the country by Asia and wandering for centuries, according to him, through the northern parts of America, they finally settled in Mexico, and became the founders of that powerful kingdom which existed on the arrival of the Spaniards. Others, as the

author of the conquest of Mexico, are inclined to attribute their origin to a Tartar and Mongolian source, while those are not wanting who would not trace them to any particular race, but would make them a combination of different people, Etruscans, Egyptians, Monguls, Chinese and Hindoos !

Although a great diversity of opinion exists regarding the authors of the ancient civilization of America, it is almost universally acknowledged that at least two entirely different races inhabited the country from the remotest ages. The one, it is thought, was of Asiatic, and the other of Scythian, or Indo-European descent. This appears to be established, both by the great difference of physical and mental endowments, the architectural remains, and the traditional and historical accounts of the natives themselves. The passage of both into the country was, according to some from the north-western part of the country, by the Aleutian islands and Behrings' Straits, while others are of opinion that the course pursued by one body of the people was by the northern countries of Europe through Iceland, Greenland and Labrador.

Without waiting to examine the claims of these theories, which at best are only vague and indeterminate, and merely deal with the subject in its general aspect, I shall here respectfully solicit the attention of the reader to a circumstance which may serve to throw light on the subject, and enable

us further on to arrive at a tolerably accurate judgment.

In the opinion of the most judicious and learned authorities, the authors of the ancient Mexican civilization, whether Toltic, Aztec or other, were all of a common descent—branches of the same original stock. They spoke the same language, professed the same religion and observed the same customs. Though migrating at different periods from the sixth to the twelfth century, they are all represented in the Mexican annals as coming from the north-eastern part of the continent, where they had been settled for ages. “There cannot be a doubt,” writes Clavigero in his history of Mexico, “that the men who first peopled that country came originally from the northern part of America, where their ancestors had been settled *for many ages*.”¹ It is also affirmed by native historians that during the course of their wandering, a series of contests were engaged in, an assertion which, if true, and there is no reason to doubt it, would establish the fact that this people were not the original race, at the same time that it would account for the necessity of those fortified towns of which we have spoken.

Judging them from the traditional and historical testimony of the Mexicans, there are grounds to believe that their race, the founders of Mexican civilization, were the descendants of those by whom

(1) *Hist. Mex.*: Clavigero, vol. 11, p. 83.

the great works found within the limits of the American Republic were formed. The great and almost entire similarity of the ruins, both in the one case and the other, the line along which they are traced, as well as the acknowledged inability of the red man to accomplish such works, are all evidences of the same. The predominating characteristics of the North American ruins are the truncated pyramid, terraced elevations, circular and quadrangular mounds. The same is to be said of the Mexican and South American remains.¹ The Teocalli, or Mexican Temples of God, are regularly-formed terraced elevations on which was erected the temple of the Divinity. The Mexicans worshiped the sun and constructed their buildings and towers corresponding with the cardinal points, while the names by which the religious constructions were named seems to have been identical in both instances.² The coincidence is further observed in the fact that the temples and mounds were surrounded in both cases by ditches and trenches, and oftentimes connected with others in the distance by roads and underground passages.

(1) "The form of our works (American) is round, square, semi-circular, octagonal, etc., agreeing in all these respects with the works in Mexico. The first works built by the Mexicans were mostly of earth and not much superior to the common ones on the Mississippi." *Archæologia Americana*, p. 244.

"In Peru and Mexico there are many vestiges of fortifications similar to the mural remains of the United States. * * * The earthen causeway on the plains of Varinas resembles many in the United States, and ancient earthen entrenchments have been observed even in Chili." *Bradford*, p. 169.

(2) *Adair*, p. 378.

The fortresses in the State of Missouri, the sculptured remains, symmetrical arrangements of the parts, and the like, are counterparts of those to be seen in the once powerful empire of the Aztecs. The method, too, employed for means of defence, such as palisades, earthen entrenchments and bastioned walls, all indicate a like similarity of origin. And what lends still greater weight to this argument is, that animals proper to Mexico were once known to exist in the States. About thirty years ago the head of a *sus-tajassus*, or Mexican hog, an animal not indigenous to the United States, was found in a high state of preservation in the nitrous Mammoth Cave of Kentucky. The nitre, it appears, preserved it from decay. Referring to this circumstance, a writer in the "Archæologia Americana" says: "It had been deposited there by the ancient inhabitants, where it must have lain for *centuries*. I am not aware of this animal being found north of Mexico. The presumption is that the ancient inhabitants took these animals along with them in their migration until they finally settled themselves in Mexico." ¹

To the foregoing might be added numerous other anologous instances, such as the use of the cyclopean arch, similar sculptured remains, national costumes, method of interring the dead, etc. And not only in Mexico and the United States of America is this analogous coincidence in the works

(1) *Arch. Amer.*, p. 244.

of the past to be found, but it is equally observable in the southern continent, in Chili and the neighboring republics, thereby creating the impression, nay, justifying the conclusion, that the authors in both instances were of an identity of origin of the same original stock. "Earthen mounds are found in Colombia, Peru and Chili, *similar* to those of North America, and like them containing the bones of the dead, besides articles which disclose to us many proofs of the degree of civilization attained by their builders." Some of the tumuli, as those in Chili, were of imposing altitudes, the one at Callao, near Quito, being two hundred and fifty feet high, while a terraced elevation in the same locality, is described as of *incredible height*, and in every way similar in its outline to those in the States. The bodies interred in the tumuli were ordinarily found in a sitting or squatting position; but those in the graves were laid horizontally, a circumstance which would seem to imply that the former were the remains of the leaders or chiefs, and the latter those of the people. The articles found in the tombs were of considerable variety. They consisted, like those found in the States, of gold, copper, stone and earthen objects; jars, axes, spear-heads, collars, bracelets and idols were also among the number; nor were there wanting such objects as spades, lances, clubs and feathers.

The conclusion to be arrived at on a comparison

of these analogous objects, can be no other than that noted already. People of different races do not produce analogous works, or adopt similar customs. The manners, habits and customs of the European are essentially different from those of the Indians, nor do the works of the Arian ever accord with those of Turanian origin. When to this we add the traditions of the people themselves, respecting their migrations from the northern part of the country, where they affirm their ancestors had been settled for ages; as also the line along which the ruins are found, those of the States being connected with those of New Spain, we cannot arrive at a safer or more reasonable deduction than that the authors in both instances were persons of a similar origin. Indeed, so reasonable is this, that no one who has given the matter particular attention, has ever come to a different conclusion.

The difficulty, then, is not in connecting the authors of the ruins of the north with those of the south, not in showing that those of the States are of like origin with those of Mexico, but it is rather to determine who were the Mexican and Acolhuan race, the latest descendants of those powerful civilized peoples spoken of in Mexican history under different names. This is the special question at issue, which it has hitherto been found so difficult to answer, but which, if determined, would set the other forever at rest. Even those

who have hitherto dealt with the subject, have, for the most part, only treated it in general terms, pointing out to their readers, for such reasons as seemed best to their judgment, the Caucasian, Turanian or Indo-European descent of the people. Until, however, greater light is thrown on the subject, and the progenitors of the American and Mexican civilization be traced to a definite people, the immediate subject of inquiry will remain undetermined, and a large field for speculation and theory remain permanently open for inquisitive minds and antiquarian research.

In the absence of all reliable historical evidence, it will be necessary to conduct our inquiries on traditional and analogous principles. By this it must not be supposed that the solution of the question would be rendered more difficult, or the argument less solid, for if reasoning based on tradition be admissible in the establishment of divine revelation, there is no reason why its force should not be admitted in connection with merely historical matters; while as regards the arguments deduced from analogy, their value is commonly known to be equal, and in some instances superior to unsupported historic narrations. As far, however, as national and contemporary history will suffer, we will be guided in our inquiries thereby, and suffer it to assume in the argument that prominence and position which its character for veracity and weight may demand.

As has been stated above, the entire Mexican people were all admittedly of the same original stock. They all, according to the native historians, came from the northeastern part of America—the seat of their ancestors for ages. The names under which they were known, and the epochs of their different migrations, are carefully recorded in the Mexican annals, and arranged in the following order: Tolmecs, Chichimees, Acolhuans and Aztecs or Mexicans. The Tolmecs commenced their migration from the north in the year 596 of the christian era, and after wandering for the space of one hundred and four years, arrived at last at a place near the present city of Mexico, where they built a city, and named it, probably, after their original country, *Tula*, or Tollan.¹ The tradition current in the country on the arrival of the Spaniards, was that their ancestors, by whom they understood the Tolmecs, of whom we are speaking, had been banished from their own country in the north, which was known to them as *Huehuetappallan* or *Huehuetlapallan*.² The very striking and remarkable similarity between this and the name *Huetramanaland* spoken of in the chapter on the arrival of the Northmen and the Irish on the Atlantic border, cannot fail to arrest the attention of the reader. It will also be remembered that *Huetramanaland*, or White Man's

(1) "The Aztecs were said to have brought the name of their *former country* with them, and this designation possibly relates likewise to their ancient locality." *Clavigero, Hist. Mex.* ; vol. i, p. 1.

(2) *Historia de Mexico, por Carvajal Espinosa.*

Land, was also indifferently called Irland-it-Mikla, or Great Ireland. But of this we shall speak more at large in the development of the argument.

The Tolmecs, after a reign of four hundred years, their numbers being very much lessened by famine, pestilence, and intestine divisions, abandoned the country, and passed, it is thought, into central and southern America, where they became the authors of the ancient civilization of those parts. They were succeeded on Mexican soil, in 1170, by another branch of the same stock, the Chichimees, a rude and illiterate race, who, like the former, entered the country by the north. These were likewise succeeded in turn by the Aztecs or Mexicans, and the Colhuans or Acolhuans. The former arrived in 1196, and the latter in 1200. It was not, however, till a century later, in 1325, that the Mexicans laid the foundation of that remarkable empire found to exist on the arrival of the Spaniards.

Of the different races here introduced to the notice of the reader, the Tolmecs were by far the most notable and civilized. They were admittedly the fountains or source whence were derived the knowledge and refinement enjoyed by the others.¹

(1) "They were the most celebrated people of Anahuac, were renowned for their civilization, skilled in art, always lived in society, collected into cities under the government of kings and laws, etc. The nations that succeeded them acknowledged themselves indebted to them for their knowledge of the culture of grain, cotton, etc. They had a wonderfully correct *astronomy*; they had mention of the eclipse that occurred at the time of the death of the Saviour." *Boturini. Clav. Hist. Mex.*, p. 87.

Skilled in the useful sciences and the mechanical arts, in agriculture and architecture, their name passed into a synonym for science, and they became known under the appellation of architects. "Of these races," says Prescott, "the most conspicuous were the Tolmecs. * * * They were well instructed in agriculture, and many of the most useful mechanical arts; were nice workers of metals, and invented the complex arrangement of time adopted by the Aztecs; and, in short, were the true fountains of the civilization which distinguished this part of the continent in later times." Who this remarkable people were, whence they came, and at what period they entered America, shall form the subject of the following chapter.

PART III.

WHERE THE AUTHORS OF THE MOUNDS ENTERED AMERICA.—FIRST ASIATIC
MIGRATION IN A WESTERN DIRECTION.—THE TUATHA DE DANAANS. —
SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE TUATHA DE DANAAN WORKS IN IRELAND
AND ANCIENT AMERICAN REMAINS.

IN THE preceding chapter it has been stated that the original abode of the Mexican races was in the northern part of the continent. This historical fact has been established by the traditions and hieroglyphical writings of the people; by the analogy of the ancient monumental and other remains, as well as by the unmistakable evidence of the course of migration pursued by the people, as evidenced in the line along which the ruins are found.¹ A further examination of the subject now leads us to inquire, in the first place, whence the authors of the ancient remains in the States entered America. Did they come from the east or the west? Were they of Arian or Turanian descent? That they were not of Arian origin and did not

(1) "Our (American) ancient works continue *all the way into Mexico*, increasing, indeed, in size, number and grandeur, but possessing the same forms, and appear to have been put up to the same uses." *Translations of the American Antiquarian Society*, p. 244.

"We see a line of ancient works reaching from the south side of the Lake Ontario across this State on to the banks of the Mississippi; along the banks of that river, through the upper part of the Province of Texas, around the Mexican Gulf *quite into Mexico*. And the evidence is as strong when thoroughly examined, that they were erected by the *same people*, as there would be that a house found standing alone on some wild and uninhabited heath, was erected by the hand of man." *Ant. Amer.*, p. 248.

enter by the north-western part of the country, appears satisfactorily evident from the undeniable absence of all similar ruins on the western slope higher than the present boundaries of Oregon. If the great migratory course of this people had been from the west, and not from the east, it is only reasonable to suppose that some trace or proof of their presence would be found in those regions to the north through which they happened to pass. In vain, however, do we search in the whole of Russian and British America for any such evidence, the line of ancient remains of towns, tumuli and fortifications extending no higher than the fortieth degree of latitude.¹ To suppose that this people, whose course has been so extensively marked by such a succession of works throughout the whole of the States from Maine to Florida on the east, and thence to New Spain on the west, would have left no monumental remains, no fortified town, no terraced elevation, no circular or quadrangular fort, no work, in a word, of any description from Minnesota to the Arctic Ocean, on the hypothesis that they migrated from that quarter, is entirely incredible and utterly at variance with every reasonable supposition.

The manifest improvement in the works they have left, their relative merits, numbers and strength, commencing with those on the eastern

(1) "*They do not approach the colder regions, nor reach to the shores of the Pacific.*" *American Antiquities*, p. 61.

border, and advancing by a south-westerly course till we arrive at the valley of Mexico, where they evidently attained their highest perfection, is an additional proof that the course of the migration was from the east, and not from the west.¹ When to this we add the traditions of the people themselves,² the similarity of the ruins, the mode of existence, and the generally admitted Turanian origin of the race, with the entire absence on the other hand beside mere hypothetical conjecture regarding their north-western course, the inference to be drawn is readily seen, and leaves little to be doubted respecting the truth of our theory. Furthermore, it is a fact established in history, pointed out in the annals of the most primitive nations, that the migratory courses of peoples have been guided, and in great measure, controlled by the natural position of the land and the course of its rivers. Hence nothing is more reasonable than that those who entered from the west should have continued their course along the same western slope till they reached the Californian valleys, where, it

(1) "An observing eye can easily mark in the works the *progress* of their authors, from the lakes to the valley of the Mississippi, thence to the Gulf of Mexico, and into *South America*; their increased numbers, as they proceed, are evident; while articles found in and near these works show also the progressive improvement of the arts among those who erected them." *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, p. 190.

(2) "The Toltecs are the oldest nation of which we have any knowledge, and that is very imperfect. Being banished, as they tell us, from their own country, Huehuetapallan, which we take to have been in the kingdom of Tollan, from which they derived their name, and situated to the *north-west* of Mexico, they began their journey in the year 1, Tecpatl, that is in the year 596 of our era." *Hist. Mex.: Clavigero*, p. 84.

is only reasonable to suppose, they would have settled, or, at least, have tarried for a time, so as to have left some evidence of their presence in the shape of monumental remains, while those on the other hand, who landed in the east, would have naturally followed the course marked by the ruins in a south-westerly direction.¹ It is, then, the only reasonable and satisfactory opinion the case will admit of, that the authors of the ancient American ruins, who were shown to have been the progenitors of the Mexican races, came originally by an eastern course and entered the country from the Atlantic, most probably in the neighborhood of Providence, where we find apparently the first of their works already alluded to. Thus far several writers, who have treated the subject, agree with much that has been advanced, but when further details are demanded, and the origin and advent of the race required, nothing but doubt and conjecture meets us on all sides. Indeed, so complex and difficult has the subject been found at this stage that many have abstained from examining it in its further development, resting contented with having established the Turanian, or Indo-European descent of the people. Until, however, a more definite answer is given, and the country, time and race whence this ancient American people migrated

(1) The ruins are traced on the Atlantic border from Providence to Florida; thence they turn in a westerly direction, and after passing through Alabama and Louisiana, sweep round by the borders of Texas and into New Mexico, whence they finally pass into Mexico proper and further to the south.

be satisfactorily established, the field will ever remain open to inquiry, and the general public unsatisfied as to the solution of the difficulty.

In dealing with the subject in its ultimate bearings, it will be necessary to establish, in the first instance, the probable period at which this remarkable people landed upon American soil. The country whence they came, and the name under which they were known, will form the second part of the inquiry. And here, lest any misapprehension might exist in the mind of the reader, it is only proper to observe it is not our intention to deny the entrance into America by a north-western route of one part of the inhabitants. On the contrary, we believe them to have been the aborigines of the country, against whom those works of defence, of which we have spoken, were raised by that civilized people whose origin we are now seeking to account for. That a supposition such as this is required to be made in order to meet the nature of the case must be plain to the reader, for men do not without a purpose erect lines of defence through a vast area of country; and when we find a series of such works of great magnitude and importance, the only reasonable and satisfactory explanation to be given for their existence, is, that they were intended as a protection against the hostile attacks of an external, rather than an internal enemy. But into this it

is not necessary to enter minutely; our duty is to deal with another branch of the subject.

Of course, in the absence of all positive historical evidence, it will be necessary in the solution of our case to have recourse, as we have said, to analogical and traditional proofs. As far, however, as the ancient history of the world may be useful to our purpose, we will suffer ourselves to be guided thereby, resting for the remainder on the other class of evidence. In treating the first part of the subject, namely, the probable period of this peoples' arrival in the country, it will be necessary to go back to a period coeval if not anterior to the establishment of the Christian religion. I say coeval with or previous to, for both the traditions of the people and the character of the ruins point to such a time.

On examining the history of the dispersion of the human race, as recorded in the most ancient annals, we learn that the first great migratory wave in a western direction from the cradle land of the family of mankind, was of Phœnician origin, and happened about three hundred years after the deluge. The chief or leader of this party was Partholan, who landed in Ireland with his followers, A. M., 1978.¹ These were succeeded three hundred years later by the Nemédians,² also Phœ-

(1) See *Keating's History of Ireland*, p. 114.

(2) Some writers suppose that the Nemédians came immediately after Partholan, but Carmac Mac Culinan puts it down at three hundred years.

nicians, who, after possessing the country for some time, were overthrown by the Fomorians and banished the Island. Divided into three bodies, they betook themselves one to the northern countries of Europe, where they became the progenitors of the Tuatha Dè Danaans, who afterwards returned to conquer the island; another retired into Greece, where they were known as the Firbolgs or bagmen; and the third found a refuge in Britain, which was called after their leader, Briotan Maol. After three hundred years, the Tuatha Dè Danaans returned to take possession of the island, which they enjoyed till the arrival of the Milesians in 1268 B. C. On the third day after the landing of the latter, the battle of Sliab Mis, in the county of Kerry, was fought, in which the Milesians were completely victorious, and their enemies driven into a narrow section of the country, where they found refuge for a time, before leaving in search of a more permanent home.

From this no further mention is made of the Tuatha Dè Danaans in connection with history. They passed away as silently as if they had never occupied a prominent position in the world. In the annals of no country is there any allusion to their subsequent wanderings. Strange, indeed, that this should be so, considering their character for science, knowledge and naval affairs. To my mind the problem is not difficult of solution. Banished from Ireland, they passed onward further to

the west, landed on American soil, and became the progenitors of that race of which we are now treating. The date at which they would have arrived in America, according to this, would be twelve hundred and odd years before the establishment of the Christian religion, an epoch which not only does not do violence to the traditions of the people, but very satisfactorily corresponds to the character of the ruins as still to be seen.

As has been stated above, on being overcome by the Milesians in 1268 B. C., they lingered for some time in the country, and finally betook themselves to sea in quest of a permanent home. That the course they pursued on leaving the island was to the *west*, and not to the *east*, is sustained by the traditional belief known to exist in Ireland, but especially on the western coast as early as the introduction of the Christian religion. Speaking of the voyage of St. Brendan to America in 545, the author of the illustrated history of Ireland says: "Traditions of a far away land *had long existed* on the western coast of Erin. The brave Tuatha Dè Danaans were singularly expert in naval affairs, and their descendants were by no means unwilling to impart information to the saint." ¹ From this it is clear that a tradition existed in Ireland in the sixth century among the remnant of the Tuatha Dè Danaans who were still to be found in the country, that

(1) *Illustrated History of Ireland*, p. 131.

some of their ancestors had in former days sailed in a westerly direction. And this national tradition is confirmed from the fact that the western part of Ireland was the last stronghold of the Tuatha Dè Danaans, independence in that country, as is evidenced from the numerous works of defence they erected there. But, independent entirely of this, there is ample evidence of a different character to show that they did sail in a westerly direction, as will appear by the following:

During the two¹ hundred years they possessed the sovereignty of Ireland they erected in various parts of the country a series of civil, military and religious works, which, in the absence of all documentary evidence, will readily enable us to trace them in their subsequent wanderings. These ancient, civil and religious remains are, as a learned author aptly expresses it, the few imperfect, scattered fragments of history which have outlived the destruction of nations, and have been preserved to us through the revolution of ages.

The principal works erected by the Tuatha Dè Danaans in Ireland, many of which are yet in existence, were forts, raths, catharains, mounds or tumuli, cromleighs and cranogues. The origin of the round towers is not entirely a matter of certainty, though it is probable that its origin is to be attributed to that people. The forts were gen-

1) The Tuatha Dè Danaans ruled in Ireland one hundred and ninety-seven years. See *O'Brennan's Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 216.

erally, though not always, circular enclosures of considerable size, with enormous massive walls of clay, or unhewn stone without any cement. They were like the works in the States, surrounded by ditches and trenches, and approached by roads, such as those on the Miami and at Newark. The reader will probably prefer to have the description in the words of the last quoted author on Ireland: "They (the ancient Irish monuments) consist of enclosures, generally circular, of massive clay walls, built without any kind of mortar or cement, from six to sixteen feet thick. These forts, or fortresses, are usually entered by a narrow doorway, wider at the bottom than at the top, and are of cyclopean architecture. * * *

The most remarkable of these forts may still be seen in the Isles of Arran, on the west coast of Galway; there are others in Donegal, in Mayo and in Kerry. Some of these erections have chambers in their massive walls, and in others stairs are found round the interior of the wall; these lead to narrow platforms varying from eight to forty-three feet in length, *on which the warriors, or defenders, stood.* The fort of Dunmorh, in the middle island of Arran, is supposed to be, at least, *two thousand years old.*"¹ At page one hundred and ninety-five of the same work we also read: "Forts were erected for defence, and the surrounding fosse was filled with water. They were in fact the proto¹

(1) *Illustrated History of Ireland*, p. 120-121.

types of the more modern castle and moat. These forts were sometimes of considerable size, *and in such cases were surrounded by several fosses and out-works.* They were approached by a winding inclined plain, which at once facilitated the entrance of friends, and exposed comers with hostile intentions to the concentrated attacks of the garrison. The fort at Granard is a good example of this kind of building. It is probably of considerable antiquity, though it has been improved and rebuilt in some portions at a more modern period. The interior of it evidences the existence of several different apartments. *An approach internally* has been exposed on one side, and exhibits a wide flat arch of common masonry springing from the top of two side walls, the whole well constructed.

“Forts of dry wall masonry, which are undoubtedly the more ancient, are very numerous in the *south-west of Ireland.* It is probable that similar erections existed throughout the country at a former period, and that their preservation is attributable to the remoteness of the district. The most ancient of these ancient habitations is that of Staigue Fort, near Derryquin Castle, Kenmare. This fort has an internal diameter of eighty-eight feet. The masonry is composed of flat-bedded stones of the slate rock of the country, which show every appearance of being quarried, or carefully broken from the larger blocks. * * * A competent authority has pronounced that these struc-

tures cannot be equaled by any dry masonry elsewhere met with in the country, nor by any masonry of the kind erected at the present day.¹

The Rath, which was also a circular enclosure, but used for a different purpose, had its walls likewise of clay, though sometimes of stone, and was defended *by outworks*. "Its form is circular, having an internal diameter averaging from forty to two hundred feet, encompassed by a mound or outer fosse or ditch. In some localities where stone is abundant, and the soil shallow, rude walls have been formed—the Raths, however, are principally earthwork alone." And speaking of the Rath of Tara, the same writer says: "This rath is *oval*, and measures about eight hundred and fifty-three feet from north to south; it contains the ruins of Farradh and of Teach Carmac (the House of Carmac). A pillar-stone was removed, in 1788, to the centre of the mound of the Farradh; it formerly stood by the side of a *small mound lying within the enclosure* of the Rath Riogh." The reader will not fail to recognize here the general character of the ancient American ruins which as has been shown consisted of circular, elyptical and other enclosures of massive clay and dry stone walls, defended from without by ditches and ramparts, as in Ireland. The winding inclined plane, spoken of in connection with the Irish works, as well as the subterraneous

(1) *Illustrated History of Ireland*, p. 196.

approaches, as in the case of the fort of Granard, are also characteristics common to the American ruins, while the platforms on which we are told the ancient Irish warriors stood to defend their enclosures, are exact counterparts of some to be found in this country. "In Warren county, on the banks of the Little Miami river, and between two branches of it, we find the summit of an elevated plain, defended by walls, etc. * * Upon the side facing the Miami, *three terraces* are cut out of the bank, and *command the passage of the river.*" The important fact, too, that in neither instance have the authors of the ruins left any stone or other habitation behind them, is a further indication of an identity of origin. Indeed, so evident is the analogy that no one who has ever treated the subject has attempted to deny it. Speaking of the ancient remains of Delvin, or Inch-Tuthel, on the Tay, in Britain, which are known to be counterparts of the Irish remains, Mr. Caleb Atwater, the learned contributor to the American Antiquarian Society, says: "Their walls, ditches, gateways, *mounds of defense before them*, and everything about them *resemble our works here.* * * * I shall not trouble myself to examine authorities as to works of this kind in various parts of the British Isles, because I might fatigue without instructing the reader. What has been already said applies to many, very many others throughout England, Scotland, Ire-

land and Wales. They were places of worship, burial and defense for the Picts, so called by the Romans because *they painted themselves like the aborigines of this continent.*"

PART IV.

SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE CUSTOMS OF THE TUATHA DE DANAANS AND THOSE OF THE AUTHORS OF THE AMERICAN RUINS. — IDENTITY OF WORSHIP. — LANGUAGES. — NAMES. — TRADITIONS. — UNITY OF ORIGIN. — CONCLUSION.

THE next class of analagous works in Ireland and America are the monumental remains. Tumuli, as we learn from several writers, were erected in various parts of ancient Erin, not, indeed, as extensively as we find them on this continent, and that for the very obvious reason that Ireland was only the casual and America the permanent abode of the race. As recently as 1838, a monument of this kind might be seen in the Phoenix Park, Dublin. It was an earthen tumulus, one hundred and twenty feet in diameter at the base, with an altitude of fifteen feet. Upon examination it was found to contain four sepulchral vases with ashes, two perfect male skeletons and some bones. Shells were also discovered under the heads of the skeletons.

The presence of the sepulchral vases, containing the ashes of the departed, is an incontrovertible proof that cremation, at least in some instances, was practiced in ancient Ireland. The same was the case with the ancient Americans. A mound at Circleville, on examination, disclosed two skel-

etons, surrounded with ashes and charcoal; others at Cincinnati presented the same result; while an examination of the mound at Marietta, Mr. Bradford tells us, resulted in demonstrating that the funeral obsequies in those instances, "had been celebrated by fire."

But it is not the fact of cremation having been practiced in both instances that makes the analogy entirely to our purpose. It is rather the casual observances of it in the one case and the other, thereby making it appear that to the leaders or chiefs only was this honor reserved. "Cremation," says the author of the *History of Ireland*, "does not appear to have been the rule as to the mode of interment in ancient Erin, as many remains of skeletons have been found; and even those antiquarians who are pleased entirely to deny the truth of the historical accounts of our early annalists, accept their statements as to the customs, of the most ancient date.

"When the dead were interred without cremation, the body was placed either in a horizontal, *sitting*, or recumbent posture. When the remains were burned, a fictile vessel was used to contain the ashes. These urns are of various forms and sizes. The style of decoration also differs widely, some being but rudely ornamented, while others bear indications of artistic skill, which could not have been exercised by a rude and uncultivated people." Exactly the same customs are known to

have prevailed among the authors of the American mounds. Some, as we have shown, were burned, and some buried, the latter being evidently the more common mode of honoring the dead, as is clear from the vast quantity of human bones disinterred from the tumuli. Of those buried, some also were placed in a *sitting*, and some in a *horizontal* position. "In the saltpetre cave in Warren county, Tennessee, two bodies," writes Mr. Bradford, "have been discovered *interred in a sitting posture*." And in another part of his work, the same author says: "Human bodies have been discovered near the Cumberland river, in the same State, in the nitrous caves near Glasgow, and in the Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, *all placed in the same sitting posture*, clothed in skins and clothes of various textures, inlaid with feathers—the bodies remaining in a high state of preservation, and the hair generally of a color varying from brown to yellow and red." The latter circumstance would certainly point to the European origin of the people. It is true this may be explained by referring it to the chemical action of the nitrous cave in which they were deposited; but there is no necessity whatever of having recourse to such a supposition, nor, indeed, is it hardly permissible, when it can be explained in the ordinary way.

As regards the horizontal and recumbent burial of the dead, as mentioned among the ancient customs of the Irish, we have exactly their counter-

part in the customs of this country. "The tumulus described as ninety feet high, at Circleville, stood on an eminence, which also appeared to be artificial. It contained an immense number of human skeletons, of every size and age, *all laid horizontally*, with their heads towards the centre, and feet towards the outside of the mound. Stone axes, knives, and various ornaments were found deposited generally near the head of every individual."¹ On Grave creek, near Wheeling, there were several mounds, one of which, upon being opened, was found to contain two vaults. In the lower chamber were two skeletons, which appeared to have been interred in a sitting posture. The upper chamber contained a great variety of objects, such as ivory-beads, copper-wristlets, etc., and the flat stone inscribed with unknown characters, of which I have spoken above. The writing, as has been noted, has not been deciphered—a circumstance which would incline us to believe that it must belong to a period and a people of whom there is now no known living record. It is thus spoken of by an eminent writer in an article to the Smithsonian Institute: "An inscription in apparently some form of the *Celtic character* came to light in the Ohio valley in 1838. This relic occurred in one of the principal tumuli of Western Virginia (the ancient Huëtramanaland, or Great Ireland). It purports

(1) *Bradford.*

to be of an apparently early period. * * * It is in the Celtic character, but has not been deciphered." Peter Kalum, professor of political economy in the University of Abo, in Finland, while making a tour through the country in 1748, likewise came upon another flat stone, on which were also engraved some unknown characters.

From the general character of the buildings, fortifications and mode of honoring the dead, we shall now direct our attention to the religious worship of the people, and see what analogy existed between it and that of the Tuatha Dè Danaans.

Of the religion of the Tuatha Dè Danaans little is known beyond the important fact that they worshipped a *triune Divinity*. "The colony of the Tuatha Dè Danaans," writes Keating, "thus called from three of their chiefs—children of Danan, daughter of Dealboith of the race of Nemedius.

* * * These three brothers were married to three sisters; they took surnames from different idols which they worshiped. Eathur, who had married Banba, was called Macciul from a certain kind of wood which he adored. Teabur espoused Fodhla and worshipped the plough; he was called MacKeaght. Keabur, husband of Erie, displayed better taste than his brothers, as he took the sun for his divinity, and was thence called MacGreine, that is to say the Son of the Sun." The same is perhaps more clearly set forth in the following

verse from the Lobar Gebala, or Book of invasions:

The land of talismans sacred Dana
Was where they learned their science,
And became skilled in wizard lore,
And Druid rites and Devilishcraft.

* * * * *

Brian, Iucharba and the great Iuchar,
The three Gods of the Sacred race of Dana.

* * * * *

In application of the foregoing it is necessary to show that the worship of a *triune* Divinity, was common to the authors of the ancient American mounds. This we shall not find much difficulty in doing. More than half a century ago, a vessel, moulded into a triple representation of the human face, was disinterred from an ancient work on the Cumberland river. It is thus described by a member of the Smithsonian Institute: "It consists of three heads, joined together at the back part of them, near the top, by a stem or handle which rises above the heads about three inches. This stem is hollow, six inches in circumference at the top, increasing in size as it ascends. These heads are all of the same dimensions, being about four inches from the top to the chin. The face at the eyes is three inches broad, increasing in breadth all the way to the chin." To this it may be objected, that as the vessel was intended probably for household, and not for religious purposes, its triple character would afford us no grounds for building an argument in favor of our hypothesis.

It must, indeed, be admitted that independently of more positive evidence it would not be sufficient to establish an analogy, but when we find in other parts of the country the most irrefragable evidence of the worship of a triple divinity, then this, too, must be admitted as evidence. At Nashville, Tennessee, an *idol* was found representing the human figure under three different aspects. From this an attempt was made to connect the authors of the mounds with the people of Hindostan, but it should be remembered that no individual case of analogy would be sufficient to establish a similarity of origin. It is only when all the bearings of the case point in the same direction, when numerous correlative proofs can be advanced in support of the same, that the hypothesis assumes an aspect of certainty and affords reasonable grounds for credibility. Taken, then, apart from other considerations, this individual case would prove very little, while on the other hand, received in connection with what has been already said on the subject, it becomes an additional proof of a community of origin between the ancient people of Ireland and the first European inhabitants of this country. Another idol, formed of clay and gypsum, which was also found about the same time and in the same locality, also deserves the attention of the reader, from the fact that its head was surmounted by a conical cap—a circumstance which would likewise connect

that people with the ancient Irish Druids. The head-dress of the Irish Druids was, as is known to all, a conical-shaped cap similar to the Persian hat, And that this was peculiar to the priesthood of the authors of the ruins seems undeniably evident from the sculptured remains which they have left in the country; for near the confluence of the Elk and the Kanawha are to be seen several ancient remarkable sculptured figures of men and animals, among which is that of a man engaged in prayer and wearing a *conical-shaped cap*.

Another analogous instance of the common origin of those races, was the worship of the sun. Bel, or Belus, was worshiped by the Tuatha Dé Danaans, as we have shown.¹ He was also worshiped in this country at the period of which we speak, as is clear from the numerous medals, representing the sun's rays, that have been found in the tumuli. It is further established from the conformity of many of the ancient remains with those of the Mexicans, which are admitted by all to have been devoted to the worship of that luminary.²

The evidences of similarity adduced in the foregoing are further confirmed and corroborated by the analogy known to exist on ethnological and

(1) Vide St. Patrick's confession where sun-worship is condemned. Tide McGeoghan: *Hist. Ireland*, p. 56.

(2) "On the top of the great Mexican Teocalli were two colossal statues of the sun and moon; they were of stone and covered with plates of gold, of which they were stripped by the soldiers of Cortez." *Humboldt's Views of the Cordilleras*.

philological grounds. Speaking of the great variety of the type existing in America, Mr. Charney, author of the cities and ruins of this country, says: "The photographs taken of different persons born in Mexico, which we have under our eyes, cannot but confirm this opinion. Those proofs furnish us instances of persons appertaining to the *Finic race*, whose character is perfectly recognizable. Others there are more noble, reproducing the salient traits of the sculptured figures at Palenque, * * * with a very slight tinge of white; * * * then there are persons whose ethnic character recalls *the beautiful white type*, although far removed from the Celtic or Spanish race, which is *always distinguishable* in the midst of these different peoples known at present under the name of Mexicans. Before the arrival of the Europeans in the sixteenth century there were then at Mexico statums of various races from the yellow Finic, or Turanian, *to the white race.*"¹

As regards the philological anatomy between the Celtic and the American languages, the most eminent writers have admitted the affinity. Chevalier Bunsen, than whom few could be more competent to offer an opinion on such a matter, was of the belief that many of the American languages were of Turanian origin. "It is not yet proved in detail," writes this eminent philologist, "but it appears highly probable in conformity with our

(1) *Cities et Ruines Américaines*, par Mons. Charney, p. 9.

general principles, that the native language of the northern continent of America, comprising tribes and natives of very different degrees of civilization, from the Esquimaux of the polar regions to the Aztecs of Mexico, are of *one origin and scion*."

The same was the opinion of the eminent philologist, Rask, who, according to a writer in the Smithsonian collection, was the first to establish on incontrovertible grounds the actual affinity between the Turanian, or, as it is called, the Scythian and American languages. He proved that the Finic had once been spoken in the northern extremities of Europe and America.

According to Rask, therefore, the Finic, or Scythian, formed a layer of languages extending in Asia from the White Sea to the valley of Caucasus; in America, from Greenland southward, and in Europe from Finland as far as *Britain, Gaul and Spain*. Grotus, Adlung, Vater, Müller, and others, are partly of the same opinion; and even the illustrious Leibnitz seemed to have contemplated its possibility, and acknowledged its importance when he wrote: "If there be any island beyond Ireland where the Celtic language is in use, by the help thereof we should be guided as by a thread to the knowledge of still more ancient things,"¹

Not to weary the reader, then, with further de-

(1) "Et si ultra Hiberniam esset aliqua insula Celtici Sermonis, ejus filo in multo adhuc antiquiora duceremur." *Leibnitzius Collect., Etymol.* vol. 1, p. 153.

tails, as this is not intended to be a complete treatise on the subject, we shall advance only one or two more analogous instances in support of our argument. The foregoing, it is to be hoped, has not failed to convince the reader of the affinity on several points between the ancient Irish and American races. It is now proposed to show that the names by which the latter were known, and which they gave their cities, were of Tuatha Dè Danaan origin.

That the name by which the authors of the ruins in the States were known was Toltec, Taltec, or something of a kindred orthography, there can be very little doubt, from the fact that the first people who passed thence into Mexico were denominated Toltecs. The same, with only a slight difference, the reader will remember, was a very prominent name in Tuatha Dè Danaan history, and one, too, by which that people, in all probability, were known as a race. Talti, the daughter of Maghmor, King of Spain, and married to a Tuatha Dè Danaan chief, was one of the most remarkable personages of her time. It was in her honor that annual fairs or assemblies, called Tailteen, were instituted by Lugaidh, surnamed Lamfada, or the long-handed. These fairs, which were a species of Olympic game, were celebrated annually with great rejoicing, and continued for a fortnight. The name passed eventually from the festivals to the locality where they were held, and hence the name

Telltown, in the county of Meath, Ireland. It is not improbable that, from the locality the appellation passed to the people themselves. Indeed, there is every reason to believe it did; for as they assumed the name *Tuatha Dè Danaans*, in honor of three of their leaders, another and greater name having now arisen, a name with which was bound up the principal national enjoyment, and the great religious observances of the country, it is not improbable to suppose that the appellation passed to the people themselves. It was thus that several, if not most nations, have come by their names, even after they had existed as a people, and been known under other appellations for a considerable time. As instances, the Romans, from *Romulus*; the Britains from *Briotan Maol*; and the Scotch from *Scota*, may be regarded as apposite examples. Nor should it be made an objection that *Talt* and *Toltia* are not similar words, for it is clear that there is as much an affinity between them as between *Romulus* and *Romans*, *British* and *Briotan*.

The name by which the Toltecs called that part of America, and where their ancestors had resided for ages was *Huehuetapdallan*, or *Huehuetlapallun*, as we find it in some authors. The very great similarity between this and *Huetramanaland*, the name given to that part of the Atlantic border which, as we have proven in a former chapter, was inhabited from Ireland, cannot fail to be observed.

It is, also, a remarkable fact, and well deserving of attention, that the name Ireland, or Irland, as it was known to the northmen, is an appellation derived from Eire, a queen of the Tuatha Dè Danaan race. In the similarity of the above quoted names, then, we have, as it were, a thread in our hand by which we are led with almost infallible certainty to the solution of this remarkable problem, the origin of the Toltec race.

The argument in its simplest and concisest form, may be stated thus: The Toltecs, according to their universal traditions, came from that part of the American continent which men called Huehuetapallan, an abode which must necessarily mean that section of the country comprising the present southern and midland States, as is shown from the line along which the Toltec ruins are to be found, from Mexico on the Atlantic border. But that very part of the country was, as we have shown, known to the northmen in the ninth century as Huetramanaland, or Great Ireland, an appellation it received in consequence of its having been colonized from Ireland. Therefore, the conclusion naturally forces itself on our minds, that as the Huehuetapallan of the Toltecs can by no reasonable supposition be any other than the Huetramanaland, or Irland-it-Mikla of the Icelandic historians, the latter being an appellation given to that part of the country by colonists from Ireland, the Toltecs are hereby inseparably connected

in their origin with the ancient inhabitants of Erin.

But, much more satisfactory than the foregoing, is the hieroglyphical map drawn up by the Aztecs themselves of their peregrinations, a copy of which was published by the Mexican government in 1858, from the original, which is at present in the archives of Mexico.¹ In this map the people are represented in the first instance as sailing from an *island* and proceeding to the west.

Now, their having come from an island in the east, in which a temple is represented to have existed, with steps leading to the top, somewhat similar to the Mexican theacallies, is an additional proof in our favor, for there is no other island in the world that presents evidences of ancient pagan temples similar to those of Mexico in former times, except ancient Erin, in her round towers, with their spiral stairs leading to the top; and it is now the most probable opinion that these towers were erected by the Tuatha Dè Danaans, for the purpose of sun-worship.¹

Then, as respects the name Tule, or Tollan, that given to the first city established in Mexico by the Toltecs there, is the strongest presumption in favor of its eastern origin. "Nothing is more natural," writes Humboldt, "than that they should have given this place the name of their original settlement." They are even represented

(1) See *O'Bremian's Antiquities*.

by Mexican historians as having brought it with them. And we know that one of the names by which Ireland was known in the time of the Tuatha Dè Danaans signified exactly the same as Tule, that is, "the end of nations."¹

The name also occurs in the actual orthography in connection with ancient Celtic works. Speaking of the remains at Delini, on the river Tay, in Britain, and which, as I have stated before, are recognized by archeologists as similar to those near Newark, in the States, Boethius says that they were called by the Picts *Tulina*. This is remarkably corroborated by the traditions of the Mexicans regarding the original seat of their ancestors in the east, which they place *beyond the sea*, and denominate *Tula*. The emigration of the race is thus stated in the *Cahchiquel* manuscript, a work professing to give an account of the first inhabitants: "Four persons came from Tulan from the east. There is another Tulan in Xibalbay, and another in the west, and it is there we came; and in the west there is another, where is the God. Wherefore, there are four Tulans, and it is to the west; we came from Tula, from the other side of the sea, where we have been conceived and begotten by our fathers and mothers."² Hence, according to their own traditions, the people came originally from the east, from beyond the sea, and

(1) See *O'Bremian's Antiquities*.

(2) See Charney.

from a country which was denominated Tule, a name which, as we have seen, occurs in connection with the ancient works of Britain of the Tuatha Dè Danaan period.

Whether, then, we view the subject as regards the traditions of the people, the character and antiquity of the works, the similarity of religion, the period of migration, or the name of the race, the same irresistible, incontrovertible evidence is found in favor of our theory. It is not, indeed, our intention to deny that certain analogous customs and practices cannot be shown to have existed between the people of whom we are treating and entirely different races, for in several particulars the entire human family present similar characteristics. It is not, then, from any individual or casual analogous instance of language, type, or customs that we seek to establish an identity of origin, but from the entire harmony and coincidence of all the particulars referred to above. And viewing the matter on these general grounds, there seems to us the most satisfactory evidence, as far as it is possible to arrive at a solution of the kind, that the ancient monumental and other remains of the United States of America are to be attributed to the Tuatha Dè Danaans, who landed in America from Ireland about five hundred years before Christ.

NOTICE.

The expense attending the publication of this work being greater than we had contemplated, we are in consequence unwillingly prevented from giving the documents referred to in the course of the volume.

THE AUTHOR.

ERRATA.—In saying that the Tuatha Dé Danaans were conquered by the Milesians 1268 B. C., we meant this according to the computation of the four Masters who make the age of the world about five thousand years at the coming of Christ.

A correspondent of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, writing from Santa Barbara, under date of October 17, in an article headed as above, says:

"I send you the following translation of the original entry in the first volume of the Book of Obituaries of the Mission of Carmelo, of the death of Father de la Suen, one of the original founders of Alta California, and a companion of Padre Junipero. On more particular investigation into our early annals, it appears that La Suen was one of the most distinguished and learned of the Californian friar Fundadores, of which abundant evidence exists in the Spanish archives still preserved in the Monterey County Court, and in those of St Mary's Cathedral, and the U. S. Surveyor-General's office in San Francisco, where his letters and official correspondence exist to the number of hundreds, and in a splendid style of caligraphy.

"There are some points connected with this old priest's life which are well worth preserving in connection with this obituary notice, which, by-the-by, has never before appeared in print, and are of much interest to Californians. De la Suen was made the second President of the Mission after the death (1784) of Junipero Serra, and acted in this capacity until 1803. During this period he received (in 1786) at Carmelo the visit of the celebrated and unfortunate navigator, La Perouse, who, it is well known, was dispatched by Louis XIV. on a voyage of discovery and exploration to the coasts of California and the Northwest. La Perouse devotes a large space in his volumes to the two Californians, and particularly to the Mission near Monterey, and presented La Suen with a corn mill, a large variety of garden seeds and a quantity of potatoes, which he had brought from Concepcion, in Chile. The potatoes were the first ever planted in our State, and from the old gardens of Carmelo they have

spread all over the coast, after exhausting the soil near their first sowing, and affording an immense item of food and grain to the people. For many years a picture was preserved at Carmelo of La Perouse and his vessels, painted by an officer of his squadron, but after the secularization in 1833, some one picked it up as a prize. The old settlers used to say it was taken to France in 1833 by the officers of Dupetit Thour's squadron.

"The English navigator, Captain George Vancouver, when at Monterey in 1792-'94, received from La Suen many favors, and makes frequent mention of his kindness. One of the old native Californians told me that when he was a boy he knew La Suen well. He was a small built man with very fine, polite, French manners—his family being of French extraction. He was always known in the country as 'Padre Farmin,' and was held in great veneration by the Indians and 'gente rason,' and there are a number of old people still living who knew him.

"Friar Balthazar Cornicer certified to his death:

"On the 27th day of June of the year 1803, in the presbytery of this Mission of San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey of New California, on the Gospel side in the Sepulchre immediately at the foot of the Grand Altar, ecclesiastical burial was given to the body of the Rev. Friar Fermin Francisco de la Suen, a native of the city of Victoria, in old Spain. He was a Religions of the Observante Franciscans, and Apostolic preacher of the Propaganda Fide, and at the time of his death the Vicar-Exterior for the illustrious Senor, the Bishop of Sonora, a Commissary of the holy office of the Inquisition at Mexico, and President of these Missions of the aforesaid New California, with reverence receiving before his last moments the Holy Sacraments of Penitence, of the Vatico, and of Extreme Unction. For a witness of all of which I hereby affirm and sign my name.

"FRIAR BALTHAZAR CARNICER."

"One of the capes of high land near San Pedro was called Point Fermin, and another after his companion, Dumetz, as noticed by Vancouver in his work. This last is often placed on recent charts and maps as Point Domo, or Dumo, from not knowing its derivation."

Rev Joaquin Alonzo

Santa Cruz Oct. 15th / 1878.

Rev. Joseph M. Pinotti.

anemaria

Rev and Dear Sir,

I received yesterday yours of the 9th inst concerning a "History of the Church in Upper California," I am afraid that you mistake the man.

I never published that I know ^{any} ^{more} ^{of} ^{the} ^{subject} ^{of} ^{the} ^{work}, the only I did as to write a few sketches on California the Ave-Maria.

I think you make reference to a work published a few years ago by Rev W. Gleason, whose title is "History of the Catholic Church in California" I have

the work myself, and I can
recommend it to you.

When I bought it cost
5. dollars, and I donot know
if it is any cheaper now.

The work was published
by A. L. Bancroft & Co. San
Francisco, where I think
it is for sale, or you might
get it by writing to Mr
Michael Flood Cath
Bookseller. Market Street
831. San Francisco, where
can be had also.

The work of Father Gleason
is too voluminous for the pu-
blic, any one would write a more
concise one, will do a great favor
to all.

I thought to do so sometimes,

and I have been requested
by a few friends, but I am
opposed to undertake it, besides
have not the means necessary
for publishing it.

I hope these few lines
will convey the required
information you seek for; if
thy prayer can
remain your brother with
Joaquin Adam

JAN 1 1941



